

*N 172*  
*Antichristianism of the English Church*  
THE  
NON-CONFORMIST'S  
CHAMPION  
HIS  
CHALLENGE

ACCEPTED;

OR,

An Answer to Mr. Baxter's  
PETITION FOR PEACE,

Written long since, but now first published,  
upon his repeated *Provocations* and impor-  
tune *Clamors*, that it was never answered.

◊ whereunto is prefixed

An EPISTLE to Mr. BAXTER;

With some

Remarks upon his *Holy Common-wealth*,

UPON

His *Sermon* to the *House of Commons*,

UPON

His *Non-conformists Plea for Peace*,

And upon his

ANSWER to Dr. STILLINGFLEET.

By R. I. HOOKE, D.D. Vicar of *Halyfax*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Tho. Flesher, at the Angel and Crown, in  
St. Paul's Church-yard. Anno Dom. 1682.





# TO THE READER.

**Y**OU will find the following Letter to Mr. *Baxter* long enough, and therefore I shall say little by way of *Preface*. But to advertise you, That this *Answer* to the *Petition for Peace* was written A. 1661. the same year the *Petition* was published by Mr. *Baxter*, in the Name of the *Non-conforming Commissioners*, by his *Majesty* impowered to treat with the *Right Reverend Bishops*, touching some *Alterations* to be made in the *Liturgy*: and 'tis now onely transcribed and published without any material *Alteration*: This if you carry in your Mind, in the Reading thereof, 'twill

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To the READER.

prevent divers Mistakes, which otherwise may be made in the Mis-timing it, and particularly about the pretended great Sufferings of the Non-conformists, of which, in the Petition, they make loud and frequent, but false Complaints. The Episcopal Party having by them deeply suffered for many years. But the Non-conformists at that time, having not suffered in the least, and being as capable as the Conformists, would they have submitted to the wholesome Orders of the Church of England, of enjoying Favor and Preferment; unto which Mr. Baxter boasts that himself was courted. As to my Remarks upon his Commonwealth, if he shall object, that he published to the World his Desire that Book may be look'd upon as Non Scriptus; and so he is not concern'd in the Seditious Theses by him laid down, and by me laid open. I leave it to himself to judge whether such an insignificant Nothing (the wiping his Mouth after so black a Crime) be to him a sufficient Purgation, to the World a sufficient Satisfaction, and (which is most considerable) whether his bare Will, his Book were not written,

## To the READER.

ten, be sufficient to undeceive and bring to Repentance the many whom it may have corrupted and tempted to Rebellion. 'Tis the Wish of one of Mr. Baxter's own Party for him, what Nero wisht for himself, *That he had never known Letters.* Truly it were to be wisht, *That*, when (Labouring under Sickness, as he saith) he had written his *Everlasting Rest*, he had gon to it: He hath been so restless ever since, and so great a Troubler of Israel; that without a deep Repentance of his dangerous Errors and Actings, I fear he will come short of that *Blessed Rest*. There goes a Story, That *Hugh Peters*, riding in *Querpo* by *Oliver's Coach*, in a great Rain, and he offered to lend him his Coat; he told him, *He would not be in his Coat for a Thousand Pound.* Seriously, I would not be in Mr. Baxter's Condition for a Thousand Worlds (holding his Principles) for all his great Pretensions of Godliness, and frequent Appeals to the last Judgment; where those who are contentious, uncharitable, fierce, heady, high-minded, who speak evil of Dignities, and resist the higher Powers, though they have the Form of

## To the R E A D E R.

Godliness, will be condemned, as well as the openly ungodly and profane. If he think me severe, 'tis onely in order to his Repentance (which I heartily desire) that I display his Errors with some Plainness. And truly I judge Complements and soft Words not fit for Bigots and Perturbers of Church and State, and open Revilers of the Laws and the Government. I have oft wondred at and pitied an old Statesman, who, when he might live in Honour and Peace, is ever in Trouble, and cannot go quietly to his Grave. And I have the same Passion for Mr. Baxter, a Statesman too. But the Salamander can live no where but in the Fire. And a Person who loves Suits, though they have wasted his whole Estate, if he had another, would spend it all in Law. I would some of Mr. Baxter's Friends could persuade him to leave off Controversies, and imploy the Remainder of his Life in writing Retractions, a Work proper and necessary for him, if for any other in this quarrelling and contradictory Age. I have offered you some Reasons why the Episcopal Commissioners thought not fit to make Answer to the  
Petition

## To the READER.

*Petition for Peace.* The Reason why I have answered it is, To take down Mr. Baxter's confident and frequent *Boastings* in his late passionate *Writings*, as if it were *unanswerable*; and, to vindicate the *Church of England*; which, as one truly saith, whosoever hath the Learning and Temper to consider and understand, doth know to be the *brightest Image* of *primitive Purity* and *Worship*, and the *most perfect Conjunction* of the *most ancient* and *most holy Faith*, that, since the *primitive Times* of *Persecution*, any man had ever the Honor of suffering for or defending. The God of Peace and Truth continue the True Religion with our Peace, and cast out that Spirit of Contention, Division and Disobedience which possesseth the Dissenters; and give them the Spirit of Meekness, Humility and Christian Subjection unto Authority.



## ERRATA.

- p. 20. for *greeting* read *Grotius*.
- p. 26. for *Caution*, *Canton*.
- p. 30. for *shortly*, *surely*.
- p. 33. after *Loud* this stroke —
- p. 37. for *Savoy*, *sawcy*,
- p. 39. *noſa*, *noſa*.
- p. 40. for *Thoſe Apoſtles*, *The Apoſtles*.
- p. 84. for *That will contribute*, *That you will contri.*
- p. 87. l. 1. dele *that*.
- p. 91. l. 5. dele *England*.
- p. 103. for *Reverend*, *Reverenc'd*.
- p. 105. in *Marian*, in the *Marian*.
- p. 107. for *vobis*, *nobis*.





TO

Mr. Richard Baxter.

SIR,

**I**F this Paper shall doe any good or harm, you will have a share of the praise or blame, since it had never seen the light, had it not been brought forth by your midwifery. Meeting lately with your Non-conformist Pleas, I The unan-  
 found the Petition for Peace often in swered  
 them mentioned; and again, more than Writings  
 once in your Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet, of 61.  
 and as oft as you name it, you are pleas'd A Petition  
 to say, 'Twas never answered; whereby for Peace  
 you would make the World believe 'tis to the Bi-  
 unanswerable: This brought to my re- shops,  
 membrance, that I had by me your Pe- which  
 tition for Peace, and had answer'd it the they never  
 same year 'twas published, but kept it answered  
 private, in expectation of an Answer to this day.  
 from the Episcopal Commissioners, who  
 were most able and most concerned; but  
 B they

they not thinking fit to doe it, for reasons best known to themselves, and perhaps for some hereafter mentioned; and the Liturgy of the Church, with some Alterations of the Convocation, being shortly after by Law established; I laid by my Answer as needless, and scarce thought of it more, till your bold and angry Plea caused me to seek it out among many scattered Papers, and to review, transcribe, and expose it. I expect (but without fear of its defensibleness) that you will quarrel at it; you are known to be of a polemical humour and temper, of a hot Brain and hasty Pen; the Hector of the Old Cause, the Non-conformists Pope: I wrong you not in the Appellation: You have more than proved it in Acting the Pope. Yours are the two Swords; and you have, with mighty valour, drawn them both. The temporal Sword you have drawn against the King in the late Rebellion, and you glory that you drew in with you many thousands: And in cold blood, near twenty years after, you tell the World, you cannot see you were mistaken; nor dare you repent of it, nor forbear the same if it were to doe again in the same state of things.

things. And, Sir, may I be so bold as to ask you, Are you not this day of the same mind, and wish the state of things were now the same, that you might be Doing again?

Blessed be God, who hath by Miracle taken from you the temporal Sword, and restored it to the King whose it is.

But the spiritual Sword cannot be wrested from you, and this you are so daring as to draw still against the Church, upon which you are ever and anon making new Assaults: and here too you muster your holy Army, Two thousand Ministers, and by the number of those Centurions, we may guess how many are your Legions. Shall I demonstrate to you further, how you take upon you the Pope, in both his claims of highest Power? One over Kings, in your Holy Common-wealth; bounding them all by your Laws for Government; or rather, binding them in your long and heavy Chain of 380 Links. The other claim of highest Power over the whole Church you do in effect make, of being its universal, infallible Head and Guide; where, you say, you have written a Treatise of Epist. to Non-con. Plea.  
The onely true terms of Concord of all  
B 2 Chri-

Christian Churches, and of the false Terms, which they will never unite in, but are the causes of Schism. *Here speaks an Oracle; The onely terms of true and false Concord and Schism are in your Breast, and given out from your infallible Chair; a rare and happy Catholicon; O that it may work the Cure. Sorry I am it comes forth a little too late: had you published it in the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, you had infallibly been made Papa alterius orbis.*

*When you penned the Petition for Peace, you proclaim to the World, you onely had the Spirit of fortitude, telling us how stoutly you stood up against the Bishops for the Old Cause, when deserted by all your brethren in the Conflict: But, I hope, you had not then attained the Spirit of infallibility, (if so, I am upon a vain attempt; and your Petition, as you suggest, is unanswerable;) and I have some ground to hope it; since*  
 Mr. Walton. *the pious old Gentleman who wrote Doctor Sanderson's Life assures us, that the present Bishop of Chester told him very lately, that one of the Dissenters (whom he forbears to name, but you intimately know him) appeared to Dr. Sanderson*  
 to

to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the Dispute at the Savoy, as forced the patient Bishop, then Moderator, to say, with an unusual earnestness, that he never met with a man of more pertinacious Confidence, and less Abilities, in all his conversation.

Sir, you talk much of Peace and Love, Concord and Union, and the Cure of Divisions, and they are the Title of divers of your Books, yet abundance of judicious and peaceable persons do think and say, that you have more opposed the Peace of the Church ( and State too ) and contributed to its Divisions, than any, or all the party of your profession: Nay, that you are not at peace with your own party, and where they express their dissent from you, though never so modestly, you treat them rudely and insolently; as anon I may give you an Instance. At present I shall take the liberty to consider and offer you some of my Sentiments upon two of those Discourses I now named, your Holy Commonwealth, and your Plea for Peace.

For the first, truly I was seised with wonder and grief at the sight of your Commonwealth, that seventeen years



after our late Troubles began, and they yet continuing, you having in prospect our lamentable Confusions, and leisure to reflect upon the Ruins of the Church and State, and seeing the Kingdom overturned by Rebellion, Sedition, Murther and Plunder, the Violation of all the Laws and of all mens Rights, and the seizing, sequestering and selling, the Estates of the King, the Bishops, and the most eminently loyal Subjects, and after the horrid Assassination of the King himself, turned into several monstrous forms, as the several powers and ambitions of several parties prevailed; and seeing also the Church rent all into sects and factions, its holy Doctrine polluted with monstrous heresies, its apostolical Government pluckt up root and branch, its most religious Form of publick worship abolished, and every gifted Brother left to his private mode; you could have so little sense and pity (that I say, not piety) as not in the least to deplore the Calamities of our

Lam. 2. 6, Zion; that God, in the indignation of  
 7. his anger, had despised the King and the  
 Priest, cast off his Altar, abhorred his  
 Psal. 74. 4: Sanctuary; his Enemies roaring in the  
 midst of his Congregations, and setting  
 up



up their Banners for tokens: That in all your tedious Book you not once lament our Josiah, the Lord's Anointed, taken in the snares of wicked men. Though in the beginning of it you resent the ill usage of the usurping Protector, to whom you give flattering Titles. Nay, that you could cry up those who had contrived and acted all these Mischiefs and Miseries, to be the Godly party, and theirs the Good cause; and, as if there had been never such a thing as a Kingdom in England, you should form an Utopian Common-wealth by Centuries of wild and seditious Maxims. I may hereafter make some Animadversions upon your Common-wealth: I will now only recall to your second thoughts a few of your Theses, which speak it not very holy.

In your Preface, Romans the 1<sup>st</sup>. being objected unto you, you avow resistance of the King; with an offer of Thesis 1. your Head to Justice as a Rebel, if any can prove, that the King was the Highest Power in the time of Division, and had Power to make that War: That is, If any can prove, the King was in Authority above those who, even when opposing him, acknowledged themselves his

*Subjells; and, turning Rebels, he had Right by War to defend himself, and reduce them to obedience. (Sir, you may bleſs God, that the King's Son and Succeſſor was like him; a moſt mercifull Prince, elſe your Offer might by his Juſtice have been taken.) All Writers think Saint Paul means by the Higher Powers the Emperour (or, which is all one, the King) and name him; and your ſelf name him elſewhere, [If a heathen perſecuting Nero muſt be obeyed,] and Saint Peter calls the King Supreme, and yet you miſerably ſhuffle off both, with ſaying, The Romans hated the name of a King (as the Party you ſided with did) and that it was neither the intent of Paul or Peter to determine whether the Emperour or Senate was ſupreme. But where the King is ſupreme, it is the will of God that the people ſhould obey him. May I remind you that St. Paul did determine it, when he appealed not to the Senate, but to Cæſar; and St. Peter did determine it, when he calls the King ſupreme, and other Governours thoſe who are ſent by him.*

*Theſis a.*

*You challenge any man to let you know one Nation upon all the Earth that*

that hath better Governours, in Sovereign Power as to Wisdom and Holiness conjunct, than the Powers last laid by, that have been resisted and deposed in *England*: and you tell us who you mean when you say, The Lord Protector, prudently, piously, faithfully, to his immortal Honour, did exercise the Government.

But how he came in you say not: Blessed be God, he went out soon; his Government was not immortal; and thanks to the King, not mortal to himself: against his Piousness I have nothing to object, but that he was Protector: his Prudence, I readily with you acknowledge and his Honesty too, in acknowledging the King his father's Land-lord and his own, and being ready to remove when the Land-lord demanded possession, which saved him his head; he being wiser than you, not to offer it so rashly: As for your Challenge of the Wisdom and Holiness of your Governours above all upon Earth; please you to send it into Holland or Geneva, it will doubtless be accepted: but, though it displease you, I must tell you, the Earth never saw more wicked and cruel Usurpers than they, nor  
a more

*a more vain and idle Challenge than yours. I shall leave you and Mr. Harrington to argue, whether the Army or Richard and his Senate were the wiser or holier Governours, and, passing by Centuries, shall onely remind you of a few of your Theſes which ſpeak your Loyalty.*

Theſis,  
137.

If Providence ſtatedly diſable him that was the Sovereign from executing the Laws, protecting the Juſt; it maketh him an uncapable ſubject of the Power, and ſo depoſeth him; for a Governour ſo impotent is none; and if the People diſable him ſinfully, by deſerting him; yet he is diſmiſſed and diſobliged from the Charge of Government; and Innocent members are diſobliged from being governed by him, though through the Sin of others.

138.

When Providence thus maketh any uncapable or indiſpoſed, it deſtroyeth the Power as in ſuch,

141.

'Tis the duty of a very weak though tolerable Governour, for the Common Good, to reſign his Place to one that is every way more fit, and liker to obtain the ends of Government in a more excellent degree.

146.

If the perſon diſpoſſeſt, though it were

( II )

were unjustly, do after become incapable of Government; 'tis not the duty of his Subjects to seek his Restoration.

If an Army of Neighbours or Inhabitants, or whoever, (Turk or Pope) do though injuriously expell the Sovereign, and resolve to ruine the Commonwealth rather than he shall be restored, and if the Commonwealth may prosper without his Restoration; 'tis the duty of such an injured Prince, for the Common Good, to resign his Government: and if he will not: the People ought to judge him as made incapable by Providence, and not to seek his Restoration. To the apparent Ruin of the Commonwealth, a Prince must give up his Government, rather than fight for his Right to the spilling of Blood.

Thesis,  
147.

The People are  
with you  
the King's  
Judges.  
148.

*A rare Encouragement to Rebellion:  
'Tis Mr. B's Divinity, the longest Sword  
must carry it right or wrong; and Re-  
bels may spill Blood to destroy their King,  
but a lawfull King may not, to preserve  
himself and his Kingdom. It seems Da-  
vid was to blame to fight with Absalom  
for the recovery of his Crown and King-  
dom. What horrid Theses are these!  
Onely*



*Onely the Common-wealth and Common-good (of which the Common people are Judges) comes in ever as a Salvo. Name me a Jesuite that ever wrote at a higher rate.*

Thesis,  
150.

When a People are without a Governour, it may be the duty of such as have most strength *ex charitate* to protect the rest from injury.

*Just Protectour Oliver's case, he found out a way that the People should be without a Governour, and then his most strength was a mighty impulse to this great Charity, to protect the People!*

151.

Providence, by Conquest and other means, doth use so to qualifie some persons above others for the Government, when the place is void, that no other persons shall be capable Competitours, and the persons shall be as good as named by Providence whom the people are bound by God to choose or consent to. *Examples Massianello.*

In 160.

The Rump, *Oliver, Richard*, Multitudes of wicked, criminous persons how rich soever, should much rather be excluded from choosing Governours than honest Beggars. This, this, this is the great Point that the welfare of most Common-wealths doth depend upon.

*This*



*This, this, this will set Kingdoms and Common-wealths all on fire, he who is wicked to one Party is godly to another; and to be rich when your Party reigned was to be criminous and malignant, if loyal. But to prevent contention and injustice, your high wisdom hath found out an excellent Law.*

Let all Pastours in *England* that are approved or tolerated have an Instrument of approbation or toleration, and let no man be a Chuser or Ruler who is not signified under the Pastour's hand to be a Member of his Church, or that shall be cast out. Let every Parish have one or two of the wisest men, by the superiour Rulers, made Church-Justices or Censours, to meet with the Church-Officers, and to take cognizance of the Cause; and let all that are cast out by the Church-Justices and Churches consent be registred and disabled to vote.

If a People that by oath and duty are obliged to a Sovereign shall sinfully dispossess him, and, contrary to their Covenants, choose and covenant with another, they may be obliged by their later Covenants, notwithstanding the former; and particular Subjects, that  
con-

consented not with them in the breaking of their former Covenants, may yet be obliged by occasion of their later choice to the person whom they choose; when men by contrary Covenants have cast themselves into a necessity of sinning, it may be a duty to choose the lesser Sin.

Though a Nation wrong their King, yet may he not lawfully war against the Publick good on that account, nor any help him in such a War.

354.

Princes, if their Injuries by their Subjects are too great to be born, they may lay down their Crowns at their pleasure. If a Nation injuriously deprive themselves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own, and they punish themselves. But if it be necessary to their welfare, it is no injury to him.

*Was ever any thing more seditious, wild and contradictious to it self? Horresco referens: 'Tis no Injury (saith Mr. Baxter) to a Prince, to deprive him, though worthy: 'Tis no Sin: Onely the Subjects hurt themselves. It may be necessary to the Subjects welfare to injure a worthy Prince, and to hurt and punish themselves.*

355.

Is of the same Bran. Though some Injury

Injury to the King be the occasion of the War, it is the duty of all the People to defend the Common-wealth against him, yet so as they protest against that Injury.

*This Protestation washes them white, and they now owe him no satisfaction for their Injury, but may add Injury to Injury.*

The People must side with the Parliament, against the King, till it be notorious that the Parliament have deceived and betrayed them. 358.

*This you think not yet notorious, though the Parliament have murdered the King, abjured his Successour, and usurped the Government.*

Names are not the onely Notes of Sovereignty: If a King have the Title of Supreme Head or onely Sovereign of his Dominions; and yet a Senate have an essential part without the Name; they lose not their part, nor is it to be judged by the Name: If the whole Family with whom the people were in Covenant be extirpated or become incapable ( *by a stronger Power injuriously expelling the Family however or by whom soever, as before you have told us.* ) the People may new

354.  
375.

new form the Government as they please : that is, The good People of the Army, by whom the Royal Family is extirpated.

Many more of your Theses, such as these, I might expose, but these are too many : and 'tis next to incredible, that a person professing Godliness should expose to the World such ungodly Positions, and endeavour to render Supreme Majesty and Sovereign Power cheap and vile, ambulatory and open, to any Invader, when God hath declared Kings to be Sacred, not to be touched; will have none to rise up against them; to all who resist them hath threatned Damnation. Well Mr. Baxter, you shall take it for a Polititian, and all sober and knowing persons will say, that Machiavel was no body to you; your Holy Common-wealth hath infinitely out-done his Profane Prince. But, Sir, I must doe you that right, to publish unto your honour, that there is one fair Pearl found in your Dunghill; one Thesis, among abundance wretchedly wicked, which is hugely honest and pious.

It is the Subjects duty to defend their Prince with their Strength and hazard of their Lives against all foreign and domestick

domestick Enemies that seek his Life and Ruine: the Reason, every man is to doe it in his place and calling, Fidelity requireth it, the Common good requireth it; else no man that is wise would be a King or Governour; for if the People be not bound to defend him, he is but set up to be the object of envy and a bait to the ambitious, to entice men to invade him, and execute their fury on him.

*I leave you to reconcile your other Principles and your Practice with this; and so I shall take leave of your Holy Common-wealth, when I have considered your Reasons of taking up Arms for the Parliament: and, I must tell you, the most of those you call Reasons are undutifull and uncharitable Reflexions upon the King, his Council, his Army, and all his loyal Subjects, who stood up in defence of his Majesty, the established Religion, and the Laws, against the pretended Parliament, who by impious Arms invaded and violated them all.*

*You are pleased to bestow the good names of Ignorant, Drunken, and Ungodly, upon those who approved not the Puritans intemperate Heat and fiery*  
C
Zeal,

*Zeal, and the Parliaments bloudy Reformation; and, very mannerly, you call the King's Council Delinquent; and, as charitably, his Armies Impious and Popish; and yet you confess your own godly-army as bad & worse.*

In the Armies some of our hopefull Professours turned Drunkards, some turned away from Ministers, Ordinances, Scripture Godliness, from *Christ*, and from common Sobriety and Civility; some, that sped best, lament their Coolings and Distempers.

*You will not believe the Parliament began the War though the King gives you a demonstration of it; but you determine the Question rarely well, in telling us, your self begun it, and were the first Incendiary: The War, you say, was begun in our Streets before the King or Parliament had an Army; and so you had the honour first to be a General of your own creating, before Essex, without Commission from King or Parliament.*

*The Parliaments causeless jealousies you justifie; but the King's just Fears you slight. To the Objection, The Tumults at Westminster drove him away; you answer, Onely by displeasing him, not by endangering him or meddling with him.*

*So*



*So the Parliaments Army, their Cannons and Muskets only affrighted, did not endanger him. You have all faith for the Parliament, but none for the King, who in his Meditations tells you he was more than displeased.*

*You say, The Parliament did not raise War against the Person or Authority of the King. You might have as truly said, Their Army did not fight where the King was in person; at Edghill, Newbery, and Naseby. O but, Their Commissions ran for King and Parliament, and their Souldiers, if askt who they were for, answered, for King and Parliament and the Solemn League and Covenant, all run for King and Parliament.*

*What talk you of Commissions, equivocating Covenants, and dissembling Declarations; when you fought against the King's person, took him, imprisoned him, and, at last, murthered him. You may wash your hands with Pilate, and tell us, Your horrid Cruelties were onely consequences, not effects of the War: But the Bloud of the King, and his Loyal Subjects, which you spilt, will be upon you, unless you wash it away by a deep Repentance. For your taking up Arms against the King, you rely upon the authority of*

*Mr. Prin, who pleaded the Parliaments cause in revenge for his Ears, and in gratitude for their releasing and bringing him to London in triumph; of greeting one of a foreign Countrey and a great Common-wealths-man; of Barkly a Papist: and indeed from them you learnt this wicked Doctrine. You might, had you been impartial, consulted Judge Jenkins, your friend Hales, Dudly Digs, and, the never to be answered, Royal Apology. These would have taught you, that the Laws of God and the Land forbid in all cases resistance against the King, command subjection; but let these and your other shews and faint shadows of reason vanish.*

*The most substantial one, which you chiefly urge and enlarge on, is, That the King is not (as all his good Subjects have been taught to believe) the Sovereign; but that the Parliament hath a part in the Supremacy; an Assertion directly contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, which you elsewhere confess secures the King's Title against all foreign Claims of Pope or any other, and consequently against all home-bread Usurpers, and every Member of Parliament takes that Oath; and the long*

*Long Parliament, even when making War against the King, confess themselves in their Declarations his Majestie's most loyal and humble Subjects.*

*I dare not with you presume to talk at pleasure of Kings and Parliaments. I have all due veneration for Parliaments next unto and under the King. But I never learnt, that they were sharers in the Supremacy, and, I believe, it would be a flattery as displeasing to a Parliament, as injurious to the King, to ascribe unto it a part of the Sovereignty.*

*One of yours tells us that formerly the Name of a King was an Idol unto his Subjects; but now, by the courage of the Parliament, 'tis death to that man, and his father's house, that durst name a King; and you make an Idol of the name of a Parliament, and dare to say, that if you had known the Parliament had been the Beginners, and in most fault; yet their Ruin is a Punishment greater than any fault against a King (his Murther, and the Ruin of his Family, and all his loyal Subjects) can from him deserve. And now, Sir, your Audacity begets in me the Confidence to tell you, that your Rebellion was most foul, and*

Mr. Ma-  
sterfon's  
Sermon of  
Thanks  
for defeat  
of the Earl  
of Derby.

the Arms you bare were against both King and Parliament, for that you call so was an idol, a nothing, no parliament; but onely some corrupted members of it, which had by tumults and threats frighted away, as the King, so all the sound and loyal Members of Parliament, both Lords and Commons, and that in so great a number, that they made a Parliament in Oxford. Now, seeing the Parliament thus divided, a part against the King, a part as great for him, Prudence and Loyalty might have taught you either to have sat still and bewailed the unhappy rupture and division, and prayed for a closure and reconciliation; or to have joyned with the King and the loyal part of his Parliament: but of the Sovereignty of Parliaments enough. I pray God grant the King and kingdom may nevermore see the like to that you plead for, and served under with such a perseverance that, you say, you would doe it again in the same state of things.

Epist. to  
N. C. Plea  
for Peace.

Your honest Friend, when he saw here a Leg and there an Arm in the way, saith, as you tell us, it was time for him to stop. 'Twas in him a poor pusillanimity: but such was your magnanimity, that Legs  
and

*and Arms could not stop your Career, you  
 could undauntedly march on through blood  
 and slaughters: 'Twas a cowardly, cru-  
 el Triumph in your other honest Friend,  
 Mr. Love, to flourish his handkerchief  
 dipt in the blood of that great Prelate;  
 when dead, whose venerable face he durst  
 not have lookt on when alive. But your  
 valiant Sword drencht it self in blood  
 in the field of Mars. You were as bold as  
 the brutish brave horse in Job, You cloa- Job 39.19,  
 thed your neck with thunder; the glo- &c.  
 ry of your nostrils was terrible; you  
 rejoyced in your strength; you went  
 on to meet the armed man; you moc-  
 ked at fear, were not affrighted, nor  
 turned your back to the sword; you  
 said among the trumpets, Ha ha; and  
 your Trumpet sounded as loud as they;  
 Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly. Cur- Judg. 5. 23.  
 sed be the man that doth the work of Jer. 48. 10.  
 the Lord negligently; cursed be he that  
 keepeth back his sword from blood.  
 But 'tis time to sound a retreat. Valiant  
 Sir, Had your Arms been no stouter than  
 your Arguments, you had forsaken the  
 field, as you plainly do, when in the  
 close of your Reasons for the late War  
 you confess, that every one of your Rea-  
 sons*



sons is not a sufficient medium to infer your conclusion : But altogether shew upon what grounds you proceed to dispute the point : So that you justifie Treason upon the very same grounds on which the noble Earl of Strafford was condemned, on pretence of it. When none could be prov'd against him single, he must die for Treason accumulative.

I shall ease your patience upon this subject, when I have reminded you, that you have much mis-timed your Holy Common-wealth : Therein you shew your self a great Dictatour, but little a Polititian, and less a Prophet ; when you send it forth in the dark and dismal night of confusion, and could not stay to take a prospect of the morning ; when ( the blazing and affrighting Comets pestiferous matter being spent ) the Sun was arising in brightness and returning in glory. But your zeal for the restoring your prudent and pious Richard blinded your Eyes, and that heat put out the light, and so you thought the Common-wealth would bring him in again. Well, yet you were not wholly forsaken in your Politicks : but when, though late, you discovered the Protectorship and the Common-wealth  
expiring,

expiring, and the King like to be restored, you expiated your little errours by a great merit; you preached to the honourable House of Commons in Parliament, and as in your Epistle, and elsewhere you boast, God and they put upon you a great honour; the next morning after they acknowledged his Majestie's Authority: But surely, Sir, 'twas no effect of your Sermon, but their own Loyalty which wrought upon them to make that acknowledgment. You all along in your Sermon reflect on the Royal Party as profane, and censuring the Puritans and Precisians who dare not be so bad as they: Nay, you implicitly accuse that Honourable House, as if there were some among them ( and 'tis easie to guess whom you mean ) that would take that man as a Puritan and Phanatick, who would employ half so much time for his Soul and the Service of the Lord, as they do in unnecessary sports and pleasures, and pampering their flesh. And you freely tell them that, God must have the precedency,

Pag. 18.

and, as our Calamities began with Differencies in Religion, and still, that's the Wound, that most needs closing; and, with grief and shame we see this

Pag. 20.

Work

Work so long undone? Which plainly implies, you would have this Work done according to your Covenant by the Parliament, before the King come in; and, putting a high value on your self, and all of your mind, you declare, they shut you out, if they would enforce you to administer Sacraments without discipline, and the conduct of your own discretion; and, say you, Give first to God the things that are God's, and then give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's: that is, first set up the Discipline before you admit Cæsar: This was the method of your Brethren in Scotland. And you here again caution and share the Sovereignty. 'Tis right indeed as you say, A Papist must cease to be a Papist, if he be truly and fully loyal to his Sovereign: and 'tis as true, A Presbyterian must cease to be a Presbyterian, if he be truly and fully loyal to his Sovereign: but you hide him under the general name of Protestant, and tell us, so a Protestant must so far cease to be a Protestant, before he can be disloyal: (you should have said, a Protestant truly conformable to the Church of England) such a one can never be disloyal: But behold how rarely  
you

*you prove your non-conforming Protestant cannot be disloyal; for Rom. the 13th. is part of the Rule of his Religion: but unhappily there hath been a difference among us, which is the higher power, when those which have their shares in the Sovereignty are divided? But whether we should be subject to the higher power is no question to us. Very pretty pure Jesuitism. Sir, True Protestants of the Church of England were never so unhappy as to differ about the higher power. They all agreed it was the King; and that none did or ought to share with him in the Sovereignty. 'Tis the Papist (whom you confess to be in your Counsels and Armies) and you who unhappily differ, which is the higher power. They say, not the King, but the Pope; you say, not the King, but the Parliament; and Rom. the 13th. is part of the Rule of their Religion as well as yours; and whether they should be subject to the higher power is no more a question with them than with you, and so you prove the Papists as good Subjects as your selves. This then is your argument for your Loyalty. 'Tis no question with you, whether you should be subject to the higher power; but unhappily*

pily you differ, and are ignorant who is the higher power, to whom you should be subject? you did not know whether England was a Kingdom or a Common-wealth, whether the King was higher than the Parliament, whom he hath power to convoke and dissolve when he thinks fit: who call themselves his Subjects, and recognise his Sovereignty, by swearing unto him allegiance: thus your unhappy and invincible ignorance, who was the higher power, hath led you more unhappily to take part with the lower, but stronger power, and to resist and destroy the higher. May your timely Repentance prevent the doom denounced Romans the 13th. But this, and your other little slips in arguing, proceeded from your present want of advantages for study.

Having and using no Book but a Bible and a Concordance, as you say in your Epistle: How vain, how false, how rankly smells it of the Pharisee? What want of advantages for study in London? Could not all the publick Libraries or Booksellers shops furnish you with Books for A Sermon of Repentance? But advantages though you wanted, you needed not. I must with you collaud your Sermon,



mon, and confess you have spoken well of Repentance, and home to diverse particular Sins, and powerfully prest several Duties : but that which was the Duty of the Day, to lay open the Sin and deprecate the Guilt of the late unparallel'd Rebellion, and the Murther of his late Majesty, our most gracious and religious King, and the most injurious Expulsion of his present Majesty from his Crown and Kingdoms, and to press his speedy Restoration; this hath no place in your Sermon. Surely your topical Head, had your Heart been for it, and had you that respect for the King as for Richard, could from your Bible and Concordance alone have so laid open the Sin and laid home the Duty, as at once to have pricked and bowed the hearts of all Israel forthwith to send unto the King, and say, 'Return thou and all thy servants: This, indeed, you faintly confess was some little part of your duty, to have minded your Auditours what Sins of the Land must be remembred and loathed in order to Peace and Healing, but your Glass forbad you. It seems your time for a whole hour was imployed in a Work more proper and necessary than that which would

would conduce to the Peace and Healing of the Nation.

But, Sir, I fear 'twas another kind of Glass. forbad you, which would have reflected them on you with so ugly a countenance; that you could not endure the sight. The Sins of the Land you should have minded them of were gainfull Sins, the Goods and Lands the Godly Party had won by the Sword from the Wicked and Delinquents, and to remember, so as to loath and vomit up these; oh, it would break their tender hearts shortly. Though in your other Tenets you are, they say, volatile, yet, as to your Politicks, you are constant to your self: the very same in your Sermon as in your Common-wealth.

And you are still the same in your Plea for Peace: As the review of the Calamities and Confusions of the Church and State, after seventeen years, could work in you then no change, nor reconcile you to the banished King and Church of England; so now, that for seventeen years more you have beheld the King and the Church restored, which was the Lord's doing, and even done by Miracle, and is marvelous in our eyes; it is grievous in yours; and, by a pretended Plea  
for

for Peace, you proclaim a new War. Never did any man talk of Peace and cast about, as you do, Fire-brands, Arrows, and Death. Your Petition for Peace is advanced to a Plea, and that Plea is all Satyr. Others, you say, are answering your Book, I shall onely take notice of your Epistle: And you begin with a furious Charge against the Government: It is near seventeen years since Two thousand Ministers of Christ were, by Law, forbidden the Exercise of their Office unless they did conform; which they durst not doe; because they feared God: Foreseeing what Conformity would doe to the destroying of Love and Concord, and of men's Souls; weakning the Land, encouraging Popery, Heresie and Schism. Could ever any thing be said in so few words by the greatest Boautefew in the world, more seditiously, undutifully and uncharitably? Did ever the world see such a Desfiance of the Laws by a pretended Pleader for Peace, of which the Laws are Conservators, as this Herauld denounces in the name of his Thousands? Ministers of Christ! No minister of Anti-christ could bring such a railing Accusation against Rulers.

*Rulers. These are they that speak evil of Dignities. What can you say worse against a Dioclesian, than to forbid the Ministers of Christ, not conforming, the Exercise of their Office?*

*To make Laws which they who feared God durst not obey; Laws which tend to the destroying Love, Concord, yea, mens Souls; Laws encouraging Popery, Heresie and Schism; Laws weakning the Land. 'Tis great pittie the Land is not govern'd by the Laws of your Holy Commonwealth. That Law of Christ, of Loving Enemies, our most mercifull King doth but too strictly observe; he loves them but too much: else ere this you had been called to a severe account for your vile Asperision of the Laws and Violation of the Majesty of the Law-giver.*

*2. You accuse the Magistrates as Persecutours, and cry out of your Parties, and your own Sufferings, which in your Petition for Peace you repeat ad Ravim usque. The Penalties of Forty pounds a Sermon, and long Imprisonment in common Gaols, and driving us Five miles from Corporations, and places where we lately preacht. The Laws and Canons imprison and excommunicate*

eat us *ipso facto* if we do but give the Reasons of our Non-conformity. A loud Name The Law (or Canon) that does so, for onely giving the Reasons of your Non-conformity.

We are made their Scorn, and many want Bread, and they choose Beggery and Scorn, and live onely on mens Charity; therefore cannot be, as they are accused, covetous or proud. The Romish Fryars not onely choose, but want Poverty and Scorn, yet you may perhaps think them covetous and proud.

But, Sir, How 'tis in your parts I know not, and am sorry to see you accuse the rich and numerous Disciples of your separated Congregations of Covetousness and want of Charity, in suffering their Teachers to want Bread and live in Beggery. I must tell you, in our colder Climate their Charity is much warmer. The Non-conforming Ministers are generally fat and full, rich, and build, and buy Lands I profess, I know not any one, in the Country where I live, but is able in Estate and your self, blessed be God, have Bread enough and to spare.

But yet you are a Sufferer too under bitter Accusations and Persecutions, and

D

have



have lain in a Gaol among Malefactors— You tell us not how long. And your lying in a Gaol, being for your Disobedience against the Law, you were, as they among whom you lay, a Malefactor. You know well, as you will be told anon, who suffered by your Sovereign Masters all this, and the loss of all their Estates besides, for their Obedience to the Laws: and, Sir, I doubt not but, in your Gaol, you had the like Visits and Comforts with Mr. Calamy from the Sisters.

3. You talk most scornfully and uncharitably of the Conforming Clergy, calling them, The accusing Clergy, charging them with false Reports, Wrath, Cross interest, and Tantum non with Malignity and Diabolism, and with Urging Rulers to confine, imprison, excommunicate, silence, undo— And of the Writings of the most able for Conformity, whom you name, and tell us you have read many more such: sitting in the Scorner's Chair you say, Mr. Tomb hath said more for Anabaptistry; the late Hungarian for Polygamy: many for Drunkenness, Stealing and Lying in cases of necessity, than you ever yet read, for the lawfulness of all you have here described.

O Mo-

O Modesty! You should have said, than  
 You ever yet writ against the lawfullness  
 of all you have here opposed. But you  
 are most concerned about the Counterminer.  
 I hope you charge him not with those  
 bloody words you blot your Paper with;  
 they are your own, not his; why then do  
 you so suspiciously bring them in with this  
 invidious Preface, But I must say, If  
 such as the Counterminer will say? The  
 Counterminer, indeed, calls things by their  
 own names: What is such, he calls Treason,  
 Rebellion, Schism, Faction, Pride, Ob-  
 stinacy; and you, of all men, may pardon  
 him, who speaks Truth just as you speak  
 your Errors; a little imperiously and in-  
 sultingly. Thus your self ease your mind,  
 as you say some men do, by pouring out a  
 Torrent of reproachfull and scornfull words.  
 Nay, you go higher, and give threaten-  
 ing words, not to suspect that ill boding one,  
 This unarmed Account is easily tram-  
 pled upon: By which some may think  
 you would be preaching again in a Buff  
 Coat, and with a Sword by your side.  
 Nor to mention again the Legs and Arms  
 in the way; you conclude in terrible, dan-  
 gerous, menacing Language; If you will  
 not hear, those will, whom God will

use to the Healing of these Churches.

Sir, I shall not comment on these strange words. But we have now (as you formerly had) jealousies and fears from the timing of your Plea for Peace, which you send forth after 17 years silence, and in the name of your Thousands; in this critical conjuncture of affairs; that there is some Design on foot more than ordinary; and for that you were resolute to put it out, notwithstanding your prudent Friends persuaded you, silently to leave all to God, and assured you, it would but exasperate: but persuaded you would not be; and exasperate you would, even by a Plea for Peace; and with your Pretious Balms you break our Heads; and while you embrace, you smite under the fifth Rib; and you encrease our Doubts by your Quarrelling, and some of you Libelling the excellently learned Dean of St. Paul's, a strong Pillar of the Church, whom you once caressed.

I have done with your Epistle, and, as I told you, will not meddle with your Plea. Onely I ask you, Is this a likely Plea for Peace? wherein, not content to urge the old Objections, you strain and set your wit and invention on the Rack,

to

to find out new Exceptions, and torture every joint and member of the Liturgy; and multiply little scruples against Conformity in infinitum; and the poor Calendar cannot scape you. To shew your skill in Astronomy, you pick quarrels with the Almanack, which, as your Con. Non. Con. brother Cheny tells you, you had better let alone, and referre the matter to a Jury of Almanack-makers. But this was a piece of Savoy wit, and you will not pardon it in a Brother: He writing a very meek and modest Answer to your Plea, with all deference to your person and worth; you expose him, deride him as a Coward for flying, and not daring as you to choose the Goal: you insult over him, trample upon him, and render him the most pittifull thing that ever peept abroad in print: and, in your petulant Answer to him, you let fly also very boldly against the Government: and yet, Sir, he is too hard for you in divers points of greater difference between you, as those of Episcopacy, Re-ordination, Renunciati-  
 on of the Covenant— And you in effect fly the field, and leave him the victory: and though you slight him, you confess you fear him. Being a Brother, though

Being ex-  
 communi-  
 cate.

weak, yet you say, his concessions and coming so near the Truth doth give him more advantage against your Party than the ablest of the Conformists, who will assault you with less success than he: they having a kindness for him, will read him; but not the other, having against them a prejudice.

And for that reason, the greater men, who you say are about to confute your Book, may spare their labour; there being no hope to doe good on your Party, as you cunningly insinuate, to prevent a Confutation; and truly, for another reason, they may let it alone; you having a singular way of writing ( which your intimate acquaintance with Schism hath taught you ) to divide and subdivide in semper divisibilia: you are a great Captain, and never march into the field but with hundreds following you; in your Holy Common-wealth, in your Pleas, first and second, in your Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet, and generally, in all your Books ( besides your very frequent excursions to other matter ) you do so multiply Quæries, Propositions, and Aphorisms, and have so many little beads and minute particulars, that those who write against  
your



*your Books must measure and number at omis to trace you ~~regla~~ ~~moda~~, which few will have the pleasure to doe; and if they onely make Remarks and Animadversions, you will say, they do but nibble and cavil, and dare not fairly attack you by a full and just Confutation. And I may add another reason: The excellent Dean of Canterbury hath done your work, and compleatly answered your Plea in two pages of his Sermon. Your whole business in your Plea is to make the world believe, you are bound in conscience to preach and exercise your Office, as you call it, after your own mode, contrary to the Laws and Orders in the Church established. He there most clearly demonstrates your Error, and with it that of the Papists.*

I can not think that any pretence of Conscience warrants any man that is not extraordinarily commissioned, as the Apostles and first Publishers of the Gospel were, and can not justifie that Commission by Miracles, as they did, to affront the established Religion of a Nation (though it be false) and openly to draw men off from the Profession of it, in contempt of the Magistrate and the Law. All that persons of a different Re-

ligion can in such a case reasonably pretend unto, is, to enjoy their private Liberty and Exercise of their own Conscience and Religion; for which they ought to be very thankfull, and to forbear the open making of Profelytes to their own Religion (though they be never so sure they are in the right) till they have either an extraordinary Commission from God to that purpose, or the Providence of God make way for it, by the permission of the Magistrate.

*But this you call a Slip of his Pen, and pretend you have rectified it, telling us, 'Tis the Duty of those who are set apart to the Office of the Ministry, to preach the Gospel by way of discharge of that Office: We have the Apostles expresse authority and example for this, who when they were threatned and commanded to speak no more in Christ's name, have left us their answer upon record, We ought to obey God rather than man. We have also the Precedent of the first three hundred years after these Apostles, when the Gospel was never preached, but contrary to the will of the Magistrate, that is, against the Laws and Edicts of the Emperors.*

*Instead*

*Instead of mending a supposed Slip of Dr. Tillotson's Pen, you have made a foul Blot with your own: his Position is, No man, unless he hath an extraordinary Commission as the Apostles, ought to preach or make Profelytes in affront to the established Religion of a Nation, and in contempt of the Magistrate, and the Law prohibiting it.*

*You affirm the contrary, That all who have an ordinary Call to the Office ministerial, ought to preach, though prohibited by the Laws and Edicts of the Magistrate. And the Medium you make use of to prove it is the example of the Apostles, who had an extraordinary Call and Commission.*

*This is your Argument, The Apostles ( having an immediate and extraordinary Call and Commission from Christ to preach the Gospel ) did preach it; notwithstanding the commands and threatenings of the Magistrate; therefore all Ministers, having an ordinary Call, may preach, though by the Magistrate prohibited. Thus you confirm the Doctor's assertion, pretending to confute it. Having no proof or instance of ordinary Ministers preaching contrary to the command of the*  
Ma-

*Magistrate; you fly to the example of extraordinary Ministers, the Apostles, the very thing that he asserts, that they may; others, not called as they, may not preach against the Laws and the Edict of the Magistrate.*

*What you add of the Precedent of the first three hundred years after the Apostles, is as impertinent as the other is weak, and nothing parallel to this case. The Emperors then were Heathens, Persecutors of the Christian Religion, made Laws against all preaching of the Gospel; yet the Ministers preached notwithstanding those Laws and Edicts. The King is now a Christian, the Defender of the Faith, commands by his Laws the Preaching of the Gospel; onely the Laws require all Preachers to walk by the same Rule, and submit to the same Order. You refuse to preach according to Rule and Order in Communion with the Church; but will preach in Division from the Church, and in Desfiance of the Laws of a Christian Prince and the Orders in the Church established.*

*Sir, In your Reply to Dr. Stillingfleet you provoke any person to name that Principle cherishing Rebellion which you have not renounced. I must tell you,*  
*this*

this Principle of the Obligation of Ministers to preach and doe divine Offices after their own mode, in separated Congregations, against the Laws of the Christian Magistrate and the Church, is a Principle cherishing Rebellion, and you have not renounced it. And, in the said Reply, I do charge you of delivering a Principle more than cherishing Rebellion, the very same with those in your Holy Common-wealth, and your Sermon to the House of Commons.

But I pray the learned Doctors pardon in thrusting my Sickle into their Corn, you will find them well able to defend themselves against your angry assaults; I shall take the boldness onely to mention two or three of your exceeding Vanities, and Extravagances in your Answers to the worthy Dean of St. Paul's.

You tell him, his logical faculty runs lamentably low; but, Sir, men think yours runs miserably low, even to Dotage. When in your Epistle, you are so idle as to muster up above twenty sorts of Disputants too hard for you, of which, one you call the Universalist, who will prove you an Ass, because you are an Animal. Sure, by this Universalist, you mean



mean Mr. L'Estrange, who is a little too free with you in his Answer to your Petition for Peace, which I doubt not you have seen, though you forget your self, and call it unanswered; he is a pleasant Gentleman, and you, being now upon the merry pin, might easily prevail with him for an ingenious Descant upon the several Qualifications you give of your One and twenty Disputants. Another sort of those Disputants you tell us are, such as will not reade or answer your fullest Defence already written, but look you should begin a new.

Here, Sir, we think you are greatly out in your account; we believe there are no Disputants of this sort; men are so far from looking you should begin a new, that they wish you had never begun at all, and fear you will never end the world's Trouble and your own contentious Disputing: and, How know you they will not or have not read your Defence? and if they will not read or answer it, Why are you angry? Are all men bound to read your Books? and if none will answer you, you have the last ward, and you know whom that pleases. But how those who will not reade nor answer you should be a sort of Disputants

too hard for you passes our shallow understanding. Pray, in your next, resolve this Riddle; and be pleased to tell us, which of your many is your fullest Defence, and then perhaps some may be so kind to you as to reade and answer it. Another flash of wit and piece of gayety I cannot but remark, coming from a person of your Gravity, if you be, as I suppose you are, the Compiler.

We cannot but appeal to the Higher Powers to have it revised and judged—when we have been ordained already, as *Timothy*, by the Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, whether the Lawn be *de essentia* to the Ceremony, and the Hands avail nothing without the Sleeves on.

Sir, *St. Paul* appealed to *Cæsar*; you cannot but appeal to the Higher Powers. It seems with you there are Higher Powers than *Cæsar*.

And as you mistake the Object, so you do the Subject matter or Case of your Appeal, which should be, Whether *Timothy* who was ordained by the Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery—was not again ordained by the Laying on of the hands of *St. Paul*; and then the Higher Powers

Powers may put you to prove your selves ordained as was Timothy, which will be a little difficult, and your Queries will be to them as hard; Whether the hands of the Presbytery were without Sleeves? Whether Saint Paul had Lawn Sleeves? Whether Ordination be a Ceremony? Whether a Ceremony hath any thing belonging to it de essentia?

Important Quæries all these verily, and fit to be revised and judged by the Higher Powers, if you knew who they were; but alas you do not; as you complain in your Sermon to the House of Commons. If then you would take my counsel, refer it to Brother Cheney.

One thing I am mighty sorry to see and say, This wise case is ushered in with a gross leasing, when just before you affirm the case was such, That there was no other than Presbyterian Ordination to be had here in the late times. Truly, if your good will, might be taken for the deed, there was no other to be had. But in the late times my self and hundreds more had Episcopal Ordination. But quære whether it were valid, you having taken away their Lawn Sleeves and Rochets too which might be de essentia to the Ceremony.

See more of this in answer to the Petit. for Peace.

One thing more I must observe, and then I shall end your Trouble; and 'tis my own great trouble that I must observe it, and rebuke you for it; you say in your Preface, Ans. to Dr. Stillingfleet, I am past doubt, that Richard Hooker, Bishop Bilson, and Bishop Usher, were they now alive, would be Non-conformists. And you said it before, as I remember, elsewhere. Sir, Your being past doubt, puts us past our faith in your assertions; no body will believe what you say while you talk at this rate, and blemish the precious memory of such venerable Persons, two of them having been the highest Assertors of Conformity since the Reformation, and have left us for it their Monuments in writing incomparable and unanswerable. Pray, Sir, How came you by this Plerophory? Have their Ghosts appeared unto you; and informed you that they have been convinced in another world that they erred, in thinking there ought to be Church Order and Uniformity in this? And, Have they told you (for no body else could) what sort of Non-conformists they would be? Those of the first Edition in Forty two, or those of the second, in Sixty two. Would they,  
when

when Non-conformity was rampant, have risen up against the King and Church, and, with you, cryed up the good Cause, and pluckt up the perpetual Government of Christ's Church and the Ecclesiastical Polity root and branch; and, in order to a thorough Reformation, taken the Solemn League and Covenant; and, with you, taken up Arms for the Parliament? Or, Would they now (having answered onely the old Objections when alive) be so stagger'd with your new ones, that that one alone of the erroneous Kalendar would be a flaming Sword to keep them from entring? Sir, Hereafter talk things credible; such Romances become you not. What would your Censure be, should we affirm, we are past doubt that Mr. Cartwright, Traverse and Brown, were they now alive, would turn Conformists?

One thing, in the Epistle to your Plea omitted, is fit here to be remarked; your Complaint, that you have been called on to tell what it is that you would have, as if you had told it and we well knew it: But truly, Sir, 'tis a very hard Question, which we think you neither have nor can tell. One thing you would have to day, another to morrow; a little will content



tent you when you are under; but no-  
 thing will content you when you are up-  
 permost. When you writ your Petition  
 for Peace you would have Bishop Usher's  
 model; and could yield to Bishops and  
 Archbishops. When you writ your An-  
 swer to Dr. Stillington, you would have  
 your Grievances proposed to the Higher  
 Powers, and would have the Higher  
 Powers strip the Bishops of their Lawn  
 Sleeves. We know by what measures you  
 proceeded in Forty one: from Petitioning  
 to Protestation; thence to Covenanting,  
 to Arming, to Sequestering; till you had  
 levelled all before you, and overturned  
 the Government of both Church and  
 State. I am very unwilling to mention  
 your past Actings, but that you give us  
 great cause to think you would be acting  
 the same things again; and do in effect  
 tell us, What you would have. But, What  
 you would not have, you can better tell  
 us. No Bishops, no Liturgy, no Canons  
 for decency and order in the publick Wor-  
 ship: no King but upon such terms; if  
 you be the Casuists who resolved upon the  
 prospect of the King's Restoration; That  
 in that state of things the King could  
 not justify the resuming of his Govern-

Baxt. Case.  
 Con. Thef.  
 137, 181.

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ment,

Pulpit In-  
cend. Prin-  
ted 1648.  
page 45.  
directed to  
the Presb.  
Ministers.

ment, nor his people the submitting to it.  
*But your Non-conforming Brethren best  
know your minde. Let them tell you and us  
what you would have had, when you had  
all.* You complain of your Misery, Bon-  
dage and Slavery; of Oppressions, Sor-  
rows and Troubles of the Church, that  
is doubtless, of the Church Presbyterian,  
and no other. What doth ail you? what  
troubles you? who doth oppress you?  
have you not Authority on your side?  
have you not all the Church livings in  
the Kingdom? have you not Declarati-  
on upon Declaration, Ordinance upon  
Ordinance, Order upon Order to back  
you? Is there the least shew of Oppressi-  
on, Sorrow or Cause of complaint admi-  
nistrated unto you, except it be because  
you are not suffered to oppress, vex and  
gall your Brethren that joyn not with  
you? Can you feed upon nothing but  
Bloud, yea, the Bloud of your Brethren?  
that though you have every thing else,  
(that onely prohibited,) you complain of  
Sorrow, Slavery and Oppression; that  
you cannot enslave and lead into Capti-  
vity. Is this to kill you with the Sword,  
that you cannot kill your Brethren with  
the Sword?

THE



THE  
NON-CONFORMISTS  
CHAMPION

HIS  
CHALLENGE

ACCEPTED.

**W**HEN God had, in mercy  
and faithfulness unto Da-  
vid, delivered him from  
the Sword of Saul, and set him upon  
the Throne of Israel, the first thing he  
esteemed himself obliged unto in duty  
and gratitude, was, to set up God's King-  
dom and settle his true Worship in Israel,  
who had set up and settled him in that  
Kingdom: To this end he brings the  
Ark of God in a Religious State and  
Triumph to Jerusalem, which had been

taken by the *Philistines*, and remained some time with them in Captivity, and after lodged in obscurity in the houses of *Aminadab* and *Obededom*. His gracious Majesty, our *David*, who hath been a parallel to King *David* both in his Persecution, and Restoration, is as truly his parallel in Piety and holy Zeal for the true Religion; and hath made it his first Care, as soon as God brought him back to his Kingdom, to bring back the Ark of God to *Jerusalem*, to restore the holy Doctrin, Worship, and Government of our Church which had with himself been long banished: and, having in the happy Examples of his most Royal and Religious Predecessors observed how exceedingly this Church hath flourished under the established Order for many years, how eminently her Faith hath been spread abroad in every place, how all her Sisters of the reformed Church rejoiced to behold her order and

Colof. 2. 5. stedfastness towards *Christ*, *The Daughters* all calling her blessed; as also, finding by sad experience that in these times of Trouble and Confusion ( of which

Job 3. 6. we may truly wish with *Job*, *That they were blotted out of times, and might not come*

come into the number of years) the plucking up of the established Order hath been the loss at once of Truth and Peace in the Church, and the cause of all the bitter Dissentions and lamentable Divisions wherewith it hath been wounded and dilacerated, and which never could be cured or closed by any the Balms and healing Medicines applied by Presbyterians, Independents, or any other who pretended to be our Physicians; this, I say, his Majesty in his Princely and Pious Wisdom observing, hath restored to God's glory and his own great honour that Religion which had before this Rupture obtained and long flourished.

2. But there is nothing can be so well devised, so warily composed, so innocently established as to satisfy all Judgments, and anticipate all Objections. That Manna wherewith God himself fed his people from Heaven, that Angels food was soon loathed and despised. As it was at King James his coming to this Crown, so at his present Majestie's, there are Dissenters and Complainers, who, with great and loud Importuni-



ties, vehement Accusations, and a mighty specious Zeal, cry out against the publick Worship and Order to be restored: His Majesty, imitating in the like case the example of that our English Solomon, was pleased to give Commission for a Conference or Treaty between some select persons of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Judgment, to consider of the Form of publick Worship, the Common Prayers of this Church; and, if occasion be, to make such reasonable Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as should be jointly agreed upon to be needfull and expedient; and doubtless for the same reason with that of King James: Not but that any thing in the Common Prayer contained might very well have been born with by men who would have made a reasonable construction of things. But for that in a matter concerning the Service of God we were nice or rather jealous that the publick Form thereof should be free not only from blame but from suspicion, so as neither the common Adversary should have advantage to wrest ought therein contained to other sense than the Church of England intendeth, nor any troublesome

some

*some or ignorant person of this Church be able to take the least occasion against it.* The Treaty wanting that Issue his Majesty and all good men desired, and no Accommodation thereby effected, it is enquired and diversly censured where the blame lies.

3. The Presbyterians charge the Episcopal Commissioners to be wholly in the fault; and say, They have petitioned the Bishops, proposed their Alterations, made their Objections against the Liturgy, replied upon the Bishops Answers; finally, have cleared themselves, and given account to his Majesty of the whole Transaction. But the Bishops have answered nothing to their Petition, have not considered their Alterations, have said little to their Objections, and granted as little by way of Concession: Therefore they profess, the Disappointment hath not been on their part, and that they have quiet in their minds, having discharged their duty, and been Seekers and Followers of Peace. But for all this fair flourish, it will appear to any Judgment that is not forestalled, that 'tis on the score of the Presbyterians, and for

the fault of their undue managing thereof, that the Treaty hath proved ineffectual; and this I shall manifest by, first, answering their pretensions, and then considering their *Petition*.

1. That the Bishops answered not their *Petition*, it was for good causes; what they ask was not in the power of the Bishops to grant, the matter was unreasonable, the motives weak and not worthy an Answer, being in number many, but light in weight (as when they come to be examined will appear) and however directed to the Bishops, the *Petition* was intended to gratifie the people of their own party, the design of it being popular, and the aim of it apparent to keep up their Interest.

2. That they answer nothing to their new Form (which they call their *Alterations*) a perfect Abolition of the Churches Form, was not their fault, but their favour. They were obliged to the Bishops for their silence who might justly have convented them instead of answering them; the very publishing of that Form being a high Attempt against the Laws and a plain Violati-

Violation of his Majestie's Directions in his Commission.

3. That they say little to their Objections is, for that many of them had little in them, were trivial and stramineous, and little or nothing have they said in their Objections, but what had been said before by *Cartwright* and others; and by Archbishop *Whitgift* and Mr. *Hooker* abundantly answered.

4. That they granted little by way of Concession, they had great Reason, and great Precedents: Great Reason; for,

1. The Compilers of the Common Prayer Book were holy, able, zealous and orthodox Persons; and such an Alteration as they desired (as I said) in effect an Abolition, had been to question their Piety and Ability, and to cast Dirt in the Faces of those venerable Fathers, Confessors and Martyrs.

2. The Common Prayer Book was revised, approved and confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament and Proclamations, in several Princes Reigns; to alter it after their Model, had been also to cast Dirt in the Face of Supream Authority, and to question the Wisdom and  
Piety

Piety of the wisest and most pious Kings and Parliaments.

3. It would have opened a gap to the Papists, who cry out against us for Novelty and Inconstancy.

4. It was his Majestie's Order, That there should be as little Alteration as might be, for that the people were acquainted with and accustomed to the Form established.

2. They had great Precedents; for, 1. In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, it being revised, very few alterations or additions were made: and, 2. In King *James* his time also, who judged the Form so compleat, that he would have some small things rather explained than changed: nay more, admonisheth all men, That hereafter they shall not expect nor attempt any farther Alteration.

5. For that the Bishops have said little, and the Presbyterians much, it makes nothing for the one nor against the other; they are not the fullest vessels that make the greatest sound; 'tis not the best cause that is most clamorous; the Bishops cause was not their own more than the King's, the Parliaments, and the Churches, having been by



by Law established and continued ( except in the Popish and Presbyterian Persecutions ) ever since the Reformation. Therefore the Bishops judged it needless to give themselves and the World the trouble of any tedious Defence. But the Presbyterians, pleading against the Laws and established Order, thought it necessary to bestir themselves and to make long Apologies for so high an Attempt: Therefore they have left no Stone unturned, have sent Paper after Paper and posted them through all parts of the Nation, to keep up their Interest in the Party, and their Party's prejudice against the Churches Liturgy. I suppose, it is hereby plain to all indifferent Judges, that the Blame is not on the Bishops, but the Presbyterians, that the Treaty had not its desired success. And to manifest it farther, since they justify themselves, and wash their hands, and cry, We are innocent: They must be told, 1. That they have not duly prepared for an Accommodation before the Treaty: 2. They have not demeaned themselves candidly and ingeniously in the Treaty: 3. They have not duly prepared for an

an Accommodation before the Treaty. There is no hope of a fair Agreement between two dissenting Parties, so long as on the one part there remain causes of Jealousie which will not be removed. Now since the Prebyterians do lie under the Scandal of holding divers Tenets in reference to his Majesty, Episcopacy, and the Liturgy, to which if they still adhere, they render themselves incapable of a Treaty; it highly concerneth them to purge themselves, by a full and free Declaration of their Judgments in those particulars which have an immediate influence upon the Treaty.

I. Since the Presbyterians both from the Pulpit and the Press have taught, That it is lawfull to resist Kings, and have stirred up the People to arm against their lawfull Sovereign upon pretence of Reformation in Religion; herein joyning with the *Jesuits*; That Heretical Kings may be resisted and deposed, as many of their Books and Sermons declate. For the undeceiving of the People, and clearing themselves of the guilt of that antichristian and impious Tenet, they were bound in duty and conscience to have publickly disavowed

vowed that Doctrine, and to have published to the World, that they hold the Doctrine of our Church, That Kings are Sacred; above all coercive Power: That they are Supreme; the Highest Powers: onely punishable by God; and not, upon any pretence of Liberty, Property, Law, or Religion, be it never so specious, nay, be it never so real, to be resisted or opposed.

2. For that they maintain and publickly teach, the Civil Magistrate not to be Superior to the Ecclesiastical Governors. *They were obliged to make a publick acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy in all causes, and over all persons Ecclesiastical; in short, to have offered to take the Oath of Supremacy.* The Denial of which is a second Opinion wherein some of them symbolize with the Papists.

Divine  
Right of  
Church  
Govern-  
ment.

3. For that they have in their Writings so publickly opposed the Episcopal Government, covenanted against it, taken it away; and in the place thereof set up another Government; they should expressly have owned the Episcopal Government now restored, and have promised to be obedient unto it.

4. For

4. For that they had cast out and laid aside all set forms of publick Prayer, Ordination, and other Administrations, (their *Directory* being a very cypher, neither used by themselves, nor imposed upon any other,) every Minister being left to his own dictates in publick holy Offices, they should previously have declared their Judgments, that a set form of publick Prayer is in every Church necessary, to which all in that Church should be obliged.

5. For that their Party have taken away the Form of Prayer by Law appointed, and forbidden all Ministers under great penalty to use it; they should have declared, that the substance of it was agreeable to God's Word, onely they judged it needed some Alteration, and that if his Majesty with the Bishops should consent to the Amendment of such things as by their joint Judgments should be thought needfull, they would submit unto it, and be obliged ever to use it in their Ministrations.

These things were necessary should have been precedaneous to the Treaty, and would much have conduced to an happy Accommodation: Such an ingenuous

nuous Confession and Retraction be-  
seemed them, and would have melted  
his Majesty and the Bishops; and all  
good Christians would have wept with  
them, and rejoyced for them, and em-  
braced them with the same Affection  
that *Joseph* did his repenting Brethren;  
and indeed it was a wonderfull conde-  
scension in his Majesty to appoint the  
Bishops, and a high Obedience in the  
Bishops to his Majesty to treat at all  
with them without and before such a  
Confession. Surely till they do retract  
those not onely erroneous, but some of  
them prodigious and most dangerous  
and unchristian Opinions; they in vain  
go about to persuade the World that  
they cannot submit to our Liturgy up-  
on the Principles of Conscience. 'Tis  
not Conscience that swallows Camels,  
and streins at Gnats: 'tis not Conscience  
that sees Motes, and winks at Beams:  
'tis not Conscience that neglects the  
weighty things of the Law, and tithes  
Mint and Cummin. Certainly they  
must have abundance of Charity that  
can believe (be their words never so  
smooth) that these men have no Mo-  
tive but Conscience to oppose our  
Church



Church Ceremonies, do out of Conscience scruple at a Surplice, a Gesture, a Set form, a Word obsolete or improper, whose Conscience could swallow Sedition, Rebellion, could make War against their Sovereign King, could overturn all Order both civil and sacred, and fill the Church and State with Bloud and Confusion.

One thing more which evidences their Insincerity as to an amicable Treaty, as if they resolved it should take no effect, and feared lest Duty, Piety, Conscience and Reason should work upon their Brethren to submit to the Form of Worship now likely to be restored; they sent to all of their Judgments in the Nation, to send up what Objections they could make against the Common-prayer, and advised them to hold off, and not to conform by any means, for their standing out was the onely way to obtain their own terms and liberty, their numbers being so considerable, that, in case of their deprivation, there were not Conformable Ministers enough to supply their places, and so the King and the Church must be forced to indulge and continue them.

them. Surely this was not consciencious, and discovered their Design, to continue a Division and keep up a Party: Though herein their Politicks failed them; the Bishops sented the Design, and provided for the Churches against the Vacancy.

2. They have not demeaned themselves candidly and fairly in the Treaty; which themselves in their two Papers (*the Petition for Peace*, and *the Grand Debate*) do make appear to all who are impartial and unprejudicate: Their publishing them being directly against his Majestie's Commission which is, *Our Will and Pleasure is, that when you, with the said Archbishops, &c. shall have drawn your Consultations to any Resolution, that you forthwith certifie and present to us in writing under your several hands the matters and things whereupon you shall so determine.*

1. His Majestie's Will and Pleasure is, that what is done by virtue of this Commission, should be done jointly, by the Commissioners on both sides; but the Presbyterian Commissioners set forth their Papers by themselves, without those of the Episcopal.

F

2. That

2. That they should certifie them in writing to his Majesty: They wave his Majesty, and scatter their Papers abroad in Print among the People.

3. That they should present them under their several hands; here are no hands, no names, but the general one of Commissioners.

4. That they should certifie when their Consultations were drawn to any Resolution, and present the Matters whereupon they should determine.

They, *Abimaaz* like, run without their Errand, and presume to certifie ( us the people, not Us the King ) before any Resolution, without any Determination: Whether this be agreeable to the King's Commission, and conformable to his Order and Appointment; let the World judge, let themselves judge. Nay, whether it was not to appeal from his Majesty to those of their own Party.

But to close with their Papers: and, first, I shall consider the Objections they make against the Common Prayers in general in their *Grand Debate*.

1. They say, They look upon the Common-prayer-book as an excellent  
and

and worthy Work for that time; and after they contradict themselves, and recall their Charity, and stifle that Truth which brake from them; and say, As to our Consciences, if we thought not the Common-prayer-book to be guilty—And again, We take it to be a defective, disorderly, inconvenient mode. What, excellent and worthy, and yet guilty and disorderly, defective, inconvenient,—How are these consistent? Yes, for that time excellent and worthy: but at this time guilty, defective,—But pray what's the difference between that time and this? must we change our Religion with the times? we have the same Doctrine, the same Sacraments, the same Government; and why should not we have the same Worship? must we have a temporizing worship? must our Devotions as our Garments be changed after the new Fashions or Modes of times? what Guilt hath our Liturgy contracted by time? O that the times and men were such now for Zeal and Piety as when the Common Prayers were composed.

2. They make Objections against the whole as well as the parts: and, is this

fair, to object against the whole of that, some parts whereof they were onely to amend? Their Commission was, *That, if occasion be, they should make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein as shall be agreed upon to be needfull and expedient, —with an expresse Advice to avoid, as much as may be, all unnecessary Abbreviations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the People are altogether acquainted, and have so long been received in the Church of England: where his Majesty would have onely some parts amended and corrected, if need be, and all unnecessary Abbreviations of the Form avoided, they fly at the whole; their usual way of Reformation being Root and Branch.* For,

3. Instead of the old Book amended they offer us a new Model, not a Syllable of the old in it; not one of the Churches Prayers is judged worthy to be joined with theirs: These wise Master-builders can with less trouble and charge pull down the House and build a new one, than repair the old; as if it had not one Room convenient, all must down to the ground, and not so much



as one stone in the old Building must be used in the new.

4. They complain of the Length of the Common-prayer-book, and make theirs in the ordinary Offices much longer, but for this they have a *Salvo*, That it may be left to the discretion of the Minister to omit it as occasion shall require.

Behold their Liturgy, with a Liberty, that he who will use it may, and he that will not may choose.

5. They would have it left to the Ministers choice to use their new Form or the old, which is as much as to say, All of their Judgment shall be free from using the Common-prayer; for you will easily believe they will like this new Directory better; and then, what need this Treaty? and yet, give them their due, they have no great fancy to their own Form: for,

6. They will have a farther Liberty. They desire there may be no such Imposition of the Liturgy, as the Exercise of the Gift of Prayer be totally excluded in any part of God's Worship: So then, a Set Prayer there shall be in every part of God's Worship, and in every

part the Minister may exercise his Gifts and shew his Parts, and strive to out-go this Set Prayer; and so the Prayer shall be despised, and his Gifts extolled. Is the Church a place, the Worship of God a season to exercise such Gifts in? Our Graces indeed should be there exercised, which are best done in a Set-form. Gift of Prayer there is none spiritual. That which is cried up to be such is nothing but an acquired Art or Habit of ready speech, and tends more to Ostentation than Edification. The Spirit of Prayer the Prophet tells us what it is, A Spirit of Grace and Supplication, looking on *Christ* by Faith and Love, whom by Sin and Unbelief we have pierced; and by a deep Repentance mourning for our Sins, and beseeching God's Grace to be delivered from them by *Christ's* most meritorious Sufferings. We may pray without the Spirit when we exercise the Gift of Prayer; we may pray with the Spirit when we use a Form of Prayer. Sure the Spirit doth not ever withdraw or deny the Assistance of his Grace to our Devotion when we pray the Lord's Prayer. The Spirit of Prayer requires not  
new

Zach. 12.  
v. 10.

new words, but new affections. Should I make it my End, or any part of it, when I pray in publick, to exercise my Gifts, I should justly fear to be judged of God, and Men (if they knew it) an abominable Hypocrite and Pharisee.

7. They object, The whole Body of the Common Prayer consists very much of many Generals, as, to have our Prayers heard; to be kept from all Evil, from all Enemies and Adversities; that we may doe God's Will; without any mention of the Particulars wherein these Generals do consist.

*Ans.* 1. They make that an Objection which is a Propriety and Excellency. The Common Prayers of the Church should be for common and general Mercies of which the whole Church stands in need.

2. *Daniel's* Prayer for the Church in the Babylonian Captivity doth consist not very much, but altogether of meer Generals, without any mention of Particulars, and yet it was graciously heard: and, do they not hereby accuse our Lord himself? is not his Prayer made up of meer Generals? Sure so many grave Divines should not make

their Objections by Number, but by Weight, and due and sober Consideration.

How little they considered this will farther appear in that,

3. They confess their Objection to be untrue, when they tell us that the Litany is for Grace, Peace, Rain, Fair-weather, &c. and indeed I may challenge our Brethren to shew any Particulars needfull for the Church to petition at the hands of God in her publick Worship omitted in the Litany.

8. They desire, That all obsolete words may be altered.

*Ans.* That may be soon done; for few or no obsolete words are in the Liturgy: but doth not God, do not we understand old and plain words? must we coin new ones to please him and our selves? must we be rhetorical, quaint and curious; complement God in our Prayers? Let us take unto us those words the Church hath from God's Word put into our mouths, and join with them our Hearts, and let us not doubt but God will hear us graciously.

9. It troubles them, That the publick Wor-

Worship of God may not be administered by any that dares not wear a Surplice.

*Ans.* Who are those tender ones that dare not? What a frightfull Bugg is a Surplice, that you dare not wear it in the Administration of the publick Worship? Nay, you dare refuse to administer in God's publick Worship, rather than wear a Surplice. Your Master *Beza* was not so timorous or dainty, *Mihi videtur Ecclesias minime deferendas propter Pileum, aut Vestes, aut aliquid aliud hujusmodi vere medium aut indifferens:*

To me it seemeth that we ought not to forsake the Churches for Caps, or Vestments, or any other such like thing of a nature mixt and indifferent. Mr. *Moulin* was not so tender; could (as he professed) willingly wear a Fool's-coat and Cap, so he might freely and publickly administer God's true and holy Worship. Are not different and decent Vestures by God himself appointed to his Priests in their publick and holy Ministrations? and, why may not the Governors of the Church command under the Gospel the like decent and distinct Habits to Ministers which God com-



*Hooker.*

commanded under the Law? so as no Religion or Sanctity be placed in them, as we declare there is not; but they are onely enjoined for Comeliness and Gravity, suitable to such Solemnities: *Solemn Actions of Royalty and Justice have their suitable ornaments enjoyned, and they are unto them a Beauty, and beget from the People a Veneration; Are they onely a Stain in Religion?* These general Objections against the Common Prayers in their *Grand Debate* I thought good to consider, together with their Reasons in their *Petition of Peace*, that they may see we do not slight nor fear any of their Forces, but dare encounter their whole strength. Their particular Objections against the parts of the Liturgy are long since by Mr. *Hooker*, and others so convincingly answered; those which are old: and the new are so weak and inconsiderable that they deserve not a sober Animadversion, and therefore I shall not give the Reader the trouble of a Confutation. To expose a few of them is enough, and he may judge of the rest by their *Asseize*.

1. They desire, the word Minister, which

which is used in the Absolution and divers other places, may be used throughout, and not Priest and Curate.

2. The Confession (they tell us) is very defective, not clearly expressing Original Sin, nor sufficiently enumerating Actual Sins with their Aggravations; but consisting onely of Generals; whereas Confession, being the Exercise of Repentance, ought to be more particular: This is already answered.

3. The often repeating the Lord's Prayer, and the *Gloria Patri* comes within compass of those vain Repetitions our Saviour condemns; a vain Objection—and may be as well made against *David*, Psal. 136. and against many other his Psalms, as also against *Moses*, *Solomon*, and our Saviour himself.

4. They would have that Petition in the Litany, *Good Lord deliver us from sudden Death*, to be altered thus, *Good Lord deliver us from dying suddenly and unpreparedly*.

5. They would have that Prayer, *That it may please God to preserve all that travel by Land or by Water*, to be changed, and expressed indefinitely, *all that travel*.

6. They

6. They express their dislike of Kneeling at the Reading of the Commandments; did they never break any of them? and, is there not a Prayer subsequent to each of them? *Lord have mercy upon us.*

7. They are offended at that Expression in the first Prayer before Baptism; *That God, by his Son our Saviour's being baptized in the River Jordan, hath sanctified that and all other waters; to the mystical washing away of Sin.* To satisfy this nice Scruple, 'tis changed, and the word *all* left out. I shall no further pursue these trifles, professing my great grief and astonishment, that persons pretending to so great Gravity can possibly be guilty of such Lightnesses. 'Twas a piece of pride and weakness in *Calvin* to charge our Liturgy as containing in it *Tolerabiles Ineptias*. These and such like light and trivial exceptions of our Brethren will to any sober Judgment appear *Ineptiæ Intolerabiles*. Leaving their *Grand Debate*, which I think, in the Prophets and Apostles sense, may without uncharitableness be affixed not onely as the Title, but is much the Subject and Design

top of their Paper. I goe on to the Consideration of their *Petition for Peace.*

Sweet is the name of *Peace*, and now, if ever, Sweet is the Peace of the State, after so long Civil War, and the Peace of the Church, after so long Division and Persecution. Peace is a Blessing of Blessings, not a single, but a complicated Blessing. 'Tis Peace that puts us into, and keeps us in Possession of all we enjoy. Saint *Paul* tels us of a *Bond of Peace*. Peace is the Bond of our Liberties, Properties, Estates and Lives, and of that which should be to us dearer than all these, our Religion. 'Tis this Religious Peace for which they petition.

O that they had hearkned to the Petitions of others before : But then they prepared for War, and sounded the Trumpet to Battel : Then to talk of Peace and Accommodation was the mark of a Malignant : Then *Curse ye Meroz* was the Text : And, O take heed of Treaties : Well 'tis happy if at last Thoughts of Peace may be entertained. But, my Brethren, why petition you for Peace ? is it not Peace ? if not, where

where is the blame? who are those which hinder Peace? Then is it Peace in the Church, when the Magistrate is at Peace with the Church and a *Defender of the Faith*; when Ministers are at Peace with themselves and join regularly in their holy Ministrations, when Ministers and their People are at Peace, the one teaching, and the other embracing sound Doctrine; when Magistrates, Ministers and People do publicly, openly, freely, uniformly profess and hold the true Christian Religion, do join and unite in the publick Worship of God, serving him with one mind and with one mouth, having the same Doctrine, the same Worship, the same Government.

Now consider who they are which hinder this Peace. You need not petition the Bishops; 'tis in your own power to grant your own Petition; and truly a *Petition for Peace* though it have a pleasing Sound, yet carries a sad Supposition; it supposes, 1. That you are not in Peace with the Church; and, 2. it implicitly accuses his Majesty of Persecution. But to come to the matter of your Petition, two things you pray:  
1. That



1. That the Bishops will grant what you have in your *Preface* proposed, and craved their Consent unto, the Alterations and Additions to the Liturgy now tendred unto them, that being inserted as you have expressed, It may be left to the Ministers choice to use one or other at his discretion, upon his Majestie's Approbation, according to his gracious Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Here they desire, That it may be left to the Ministers choice to use one or other, the new or the old Form, and 'tis not hard to judge which will be chosen; the old by all who are Episcopal, the new by all the Presbyterians: So shall we have Altar against Altar; Common-prayer-book against Common-prayer-book, confusion in all Parishes and Division; those who are for the old, if the new be read, will leave their Minister, and go where the old is read; and the like will they doe who are for the new: So shall there be endless Contestations between Ministers and Ministers, People and People; one pleading for the old Form, and exploding the new; the other arguing for the  
the

the new, and despising the old : Is this to petition for Peace? nothing can be more against Peace. Certainly we shall ever be two, and the Church divided, if we have two Liturgies. And whereas they appeal to his Majesty's Declaration, his Majesty speaks plainly enough his meaning, and more plainly in his Commission, that he intends not two Liturgies be established, but onely some Alterations in one and the same Liturgy, some additional Forms to be left unto the Ministers choice, to use one or the other at his discretion; and these Alterations and additional Forms not to be made by the one Part separately, as yours are; but by those of both Persuasions.

You farther Petition, since we cannot obtain the Form of Episcopal Government described by the late Reverend Primate of *Ireland*, and approved by many Episcopal Divines, we may at least enjoy those Benefits of Reformation in Discipline, and that Freedom from Subscription, Oaths and Ceremonies which are granted in the said Declaration by the means of your charitable Mediation and Request.

*Ans. I.*

*Ans. I.* Why did you not then (when it was in your Power, and the Staff in your hands) hearken to Bishop *Usher* and those Episcopal Divines? did you not covenant against Episcopacy? do you not still judge yourselves obliged to keep your Covenant? did not a prime Leader of your Party, in his Sermon at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, call Episcopacy and the Common-prayer-book, *The Plague-soars of the Nation*? did not his late Majesty of blessed memory offer as great condescensions as could be desired to your Divines at the *Isle of Wight*? and, did they not oppose and disown all Episcopal Government?

Hear his Majesty: *I was willing to grant or restore to Presbytery what with reason or discretion it can pretend to in a conjuncture with Episcopacy, but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the authority of that ancient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church and State.*

Behold what his Majesty was willing to doe in yeldance to Presbytery; so

as Episcopacy might not be abrogated. Behold what the Presbyterians will doe, they will goe no lower than to abrogate Episcopacy, and since they could not doe it by the Word, they will doe it by the Sword. But,

2. Have you now really changed your minds? are you in good earnest? do you speak *Verbo Sacerdotum* when you make us believe you desire to obtain an Episcopacy? How doth this consist with your Profession in your *Grand Debate*? There you utterly disclaim all Episcopacy. These are your words, *We doubt whether men in the same Order do, by Divine appointment, owe obedience unto those that gradually goe before them; and they may scruple whether such making themselves the Governours of their Brethren, make not themselves indeed of a different Order or Office, and so incroach not upon the Authority of Christ, who onely maketh Officers purely Ecclesiastical, and whether it be no disloyalty to Christ, to own such Officers: Again, 'tis a matter of very great doubt, whether a fixed Diocesan, being the Pastor of many hundred Churches, be indeed a Governour of Christ's appoint-*

appointment or approbation; and whether Christ will give us any more thanks for owning them as such, than the King will give us for owning an Usurper.

He who can reconcile their Petition for Peace with their Grand Debate, the one pretending for Episcopacy, the other renouncing all Episcopacy, *Erit mihi magnus* Apollo. But the Instance you might have let alone of owning an Usurper. Did you not own and set up an Usurping Parliament against the King? and, will you not disown the most Lawfull King that shall deny your Will and Way; and own the Greatest Usurper that will set up and yield his Neck to your Presbyterian Government? But if you cannot gain your own, you would be free from Obedience to any other; *That we may at least enjoy freedom from Subscription, Oaths, and Ceremonies, by the means of your charitable Mediation.* A modest and merry Request, That the Bishops will mediate with his Majesty, that the Presbyterians may be free from Obedience to Episcopal Government. Were your Presbyterian Government set up, would you allow the Freedom you ask? You

Vide Baxter's Holy Common-wealth.



have preached and printed against Toleration: you would bind Kings with your Chains, and Nobles with Links of Iron; you would be very shy to give the Indulgencies and Dispensations your selves desire: Nay, you refuse them to your Independent Brethren.

Your second Petition is; Seeing some hundreds of able, holy and faithfull Ministers are of late cast out, and abundance of Congregations in England, Ireland and Wales are overspread with lamentable ignorance, and are destitute of able, faithfull Teachers; and seeing too many that are insufficient, negligent or scandalous are over the flocks, we take this opportunity earnestly to beseech you, that will contribute your endeavours to the removal of those that are the shame and burthens of the Churches, and to the Restoration of such as may be an honour and blessing unto them, and to that end that it be not imputed unto them as their unpardonable Crime, that they were born in an Age and Countrey which required Ordination by parochial Pastors without Diocefans.

*Ans. 1.* Is not this a Pharisaical strain through all your Papers, To cry up  
your

your own Holiness, Faithfulness, Piety and Painfulness, and to reproach the Conformists as Insufficient, Negligent, the Shame and Burthen of the Churches?

Comparisons are odious unto you, but we dare appeal to the World, and to him who can judge of Hypocrisie and Sincerity, that there are Episcopal persons many far more Able, Holy, Painfull and Faithfull Ministers than any of the Presbyterians; and many of the Presbyterians more Insufficient, Negligent and Scandalous than any of the Episcopal; and if Accusations of others were a Vindication of our selves, we could write Centuries as well as your *White*, and name abundance of those you count and call Godly who are the Shame and Burthen of Churches.

And, to be plain with you, who trust in your selves, *that you are Righteous*, Luk. 18. 9. *and despise others*, you are all (none excepted) the Shame and Burthen of the Church: If to preach up Rebellion against the King, the Nursing Father of the Church, to cast off the Apostolical Government of the Church, to eject all the true Sons of the Church, to in-

vade and possess your selves by Violence of all the Revenues of the Church be any Shame, or Sin, or Burthen to your tender Consciences; whether it be so or no, 'tis so certainly to all who are truly consciencious; and God grant your deep Resentment and timely Repentance may by God's mercy wash away the Sin and Shame, and ease the Burthen, which if not now, you will one day feel very heavy and uneasy.

2. How can you tell us of hundreds of yours cast out, and your guilt not fly in your faces? Did you not foresee we could retort, that thousands of Episcopal men were cast out for their Loyalty and Constancy to the Religion in the Church of *England* established, for not covenanting, for not contributing to the Schism and Rebellion; we could name if need were thousands whose Learning, Piety and Painfulness in their places Envy it self cannot accuse. Their onely Crime being their ample Revenues and competent Livings.

3. Seeing some hundreds are of late cast out, your Consciences know you affirm

affirm an untruth, that there are none cast out, but such as were unjust Intruders into other mens Charges, those who without and against Law were deprived, are now by Law restored, and if any of them be unworthy, the Law is open, and may they be prosecuted, and, if they deserve it, impartially punished; we justify not any that are scandalous. O that all were holy who serve in the holy Ministry; and here on my knees I beseech the most Reverend Fathers of the Church, That those Ministers who are Conformists, but whose Lives are vicious and scandalous, may notwithstanding their Conformity fall under the severest Censures: Episcopacie hath no such great Enemies as these pretended Friends.

4. But why all this Complaint of your being cast out by the Bishops? as if they had cast you out, when you know and the whole Nation knows, that they were cast out by Act of Parliament (the Bishops not sitting in that Parliament) or rather removed from the unjust possession of other mens Churches, and the lawfull Incumbents restored. So that you smite his Majesty and

the Parliament through the Bishops sides.

*You go on; Being conscious that we seek not great things for our selves or for our Brethren; that we are ambitious of no greater wealth and honour than our daily bread.*

1. Do not those seek great things for themselves, in respect of Honour who would be co-ordinate with Kings, and who would not be subordinate to Bishops, disowning their Authority, their Ordination and Government, and challenging to themselves an equal right to both? And for Wealth, you cannot but be conscious that you have sought great things; the greatest Livings (though with the Ruin of the Lawfull Owners) the most wealthy places in Cities, Universities, and the Country. Many of you had a rich Benefice, and a fat Lecture, or a Government in some College: So that whatever you profess you lie as deeply under the Scandal of Ambition and Covetousness as you would bring those who are Episcopal.

These are their Requests; 1. That they may have a Government and a Liturgie of their own, different from that established;



established; and if not, that they may be free from that in the Church established.

2. That all Presbyterians may be placed in the choicest Livings, as holy, able and faithfull; and that Episcopal men, as they have been by them cast out, may be kept out of their own Livings as scandalous, negligent and insufficient. How can these Requests be denied, in number so few, in nature so modest, religious and rational? for with twenty Reasons are these two Requests enforced; yet, when well considered, will shrink up into almost as few as their Requests, and will prove as ponderous.

R. 1. They tell us, they dare not use a Cross or Surplice, or worship God in a Form which they judge disorderly, defective or corrupt, when they have better to offer him, *Malachi*, 1. 13.

To that Scruple of the Surplice I have already answered; and to that of the Cross the Church hath answered, *Canon*, 30. and those whom the Church cannot satisfie, 'tis in vain for any private person to attempt it; and, whereas they say their Form of Worship is better

better than ours, we must give every one leave to have a love for the Creature of their own production, and the Text they alledge *Malachi*, 1. 13. as the Reason why they judge our Form defective, and their own better, speaks aloud the fondness of their Affection, blinding their Judgment. Nothing could have been said more for our Form or against their own (supposing the words any way applicable to either.) Are not you they that say the Table of the Lord is polluted, his Meat is contemptible? Do not you say, What a weariness is it? And ye have snuffed at it, and ye have brought (instead of it your new Form) that which is torn, and lame, and sick; thus ye have brought an Offering. The 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Reasons, we had all before in their Request and are now repeated as the Reasons of it, their Holiness, their Ableness, their being cast out, their great Sufferings, their tender Consciences. But though I have spoken to them before, I shall pass on them some Remarks, lest they should judge we could not answer them.

2. *There are few Nations under the Heavens of God, as far as we can learn, that*

*that have more able, holy, faithfull, laborious and truly peaceable Preachers of the Gospel, proportionably then those that are now cast out in England; and are like in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be cast out, if the old Conformity be urged.*

*And, 3. Whether it be equal to bring upon so many of them so great Calamities. Again,*

*4. We would here remember you how great and considerable a part of the three Nations there is that must incur those Sufferings. And again,*

*5. We may plead the Nature of their Cause, to move you to commiserate your afflicted Brethren in their Sufferings.*

*Ans.* The Bishops and Episcopal and Loyal Clergy have learned by their own Sufferings to compassionate the Sufferings of others. But this Complaint of the Presbyterians Sufferings is like that of Children who bite and cry, some can endure much and complain little, some will cry out for little or nothing; and they say they are most impatient in the least Sickness who have lived long in health, not knowing what Sickness meant. Let me be bold to ask, Who of you are the men that  
have

have suffered? what have you suffered? how long? and, under whom? who have been your Persecutors?

1. Who are the men? Are all the Presbyterians ejected and sequestred? All the Bishops and Loyal Clergy were generally cast out; unless Poverty were their protection.

2. What have they suffered? Have they been deprived of their Livings wherewith the Law invested them? Have they been silenced, plundered of their Goods, Books, Papers, shut up in Prisons, banished, martyred? You know who suffered thus.

3. How long? The Conformists have suffered in Silence and Patience near twenty years together, and your pretended sufferings a few months (being in a capacity to be restored when ever you will return to your duty) make more noise than all the Sufferings of all the Episcopal persons all these years.

4. From whom? Have you suffered from your Brethren, from your fellow Subjects without and against Law? There are, you know, who have thus suffered: But you cannot say you have suffered

suffered any thing but what the Law inflicts, and surely that is no note of Innocency and Sincerity, as you insinuate. If your Sincerity be no more than your Sufferings, you have as little cause to boast of that as to complain of the other, *Non cruciatus, sed Causa*—Let it not displease you, if I lay before you and the World a true and just account of your Sufferings and Calamities: 'Tis shortly this; You and your Party had by Arms and Violence, against all Law, Conscience, Justice and Charity, seized and possessed your selves of the Estates of your King, divers of the Nobility and Gentry, the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, the Dignities and Livings of the Loyal Clergy, all the honourable and wealthy Offices ecclesiastical and civil by Sea and Land; these you held and enjoyed until God turned our Captivity, and the King and the Church was happily restored, and then their Estates and Rights were restored, and you enforced to quit them without the demand of Arrears or Restitution for the time you enjoyed them, which was so long and the Revenues so large, that abundance of you, being good Hus-  
bands



bands and great Improvers, have provided well against a Storm and got out of your Sequestrations and Purchases plentiful Estates ; so that of the Calamity of our suffering Brethren, and the Cruelty of the restored King , Church and Laws, this is the most deplored and lamentable account ; The King, the Church and the Suffering Loyal Party will needs have their Rights again ; and so the Godly Party who invaded them must no longer enjoy them ; The Prey is plucked out of their Teeth, and they must vomit up the sweet morsell. You must pardon me if, against my *Genius*, your loud and redoubled Outcries of your mighty Sufferings enforce me to be plain with you, and tell you your own.

In their Fifth, after their *Preface* mentioning their Sufferings , and in their Sixth, they argue from the meanness of the things imposed in the Judgment of the Bishops , and the ponderousness in their own.

It is in your own account , *But for refusing Conformity to things indifferent, or at the most of no necessity to Salvation :* It is in their account , *for the sake of Christ.*

Christ. *Do you think the Lord that died for Souls, and hath sent us to learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, is better pleased with Re-ordination, Subscription and Ceremonies, than with the Saving of Souls by the means of his own appointment?*

*Ans. I.* Do you think that the Lord who died for Souls, and hath sent us to learn what that meaneth, *I will have mercy, and not Sacrifice,* is better pleased with your Refusal to save Souls by the Means of his own appointment, upon the Scruple of Ordination by Bishops, Ceremonies and Indifferent things, than he would be if, submitting to them, you would preach the Gospel and save Souls? Will this be a good Answer to the Lord at the great Day of Accounts? Lord, I would have preached the Gospel, I would have endeavoured the Salvation of Souls; But I durst not wear a Surplice, I durst not use that declared Indifferent Ceremony of the Crois, I durst not kneel before thee at thy holy Table, I durst not be obedient to my Lawfull Superiours who required these things; and though I know that necessity is laid upon

upon me, yea, *wo is unto me*, if I preach *not the Gospel*; yet I thought my self obliged rather to dispense with that necessity thou hast laid upon me than submit to those indifferent things they would lay upon me against my Christian Liberty, and to let thousands of Souls perish, than hazard my own by Subscription and Ceremonies. But,

2. The Offence of Refusing Conformity in things indifferent, is not to be measured according to the things unto which we are to conform, which the Church hath declared her Judgment in that they are not to be valued for their own sakes. But 'tis Pride, Contempt, and Disobedience to Lawfull Authority to oppose its Orders, and these are not so slight faults as you imagin; it was but a light fault that *Shimei* made, in going out of the City, but he lost his Head for it; it was but a light fault that *Uzza* made in touching the Ark, but he lost his Life for it. But, say you, Though the Bishops call the things they enjoin Indifferent, yet our Sentiments are otherwise. 'Tis in our account for the sake of *Christ*, because we dare not consent to that which we judge an

an Usurpation of his Kingly power, and an Accusation of his Laws, as insufficient.

*Ans.* 'Tis worth our Observation, that of *Dr. Sanderson*, that all their Arguments against our Ceremonies are drawn from the Head of Christian Liberty, and then with the same Breath they deny them to be things indifferent, and often do they use this Topick in this Address.

2. He and others have proved the things to be indifferent (as the Church declares them) which they can never disprove.

3. 'Tis for the sake of *Christ* that you disobey the Command and Example of *Christ*; that you disobey the Magistrates of *Christ*, and the Government of *Christ*, and the Orders of his Church.

4. You judge the Bishops Injunction of things indifferent an Usurpation of *Christ's* Kingly power, and an Accusation of his Laws as insufficient. But your Apostle, *Mr. Calvin*, judges otherwise, as do the Bishops, That *Christ* hath given Laws for all things necessary in the Divine Worship. But as to things pertaining to outward Order and Comeli-

H

ness

ness he hath taught nothing expressly. Those he hath left to the Churches prudence. Hath *Christ* given such Laws? Open our eyes, shew us, and let us see them: ( Hath he not ) then, not the Governours of the Church, but you, who judge he ought, do accuse *Christ's* Laws as insufficient.

In their fifth Reason they say, Suppose they be mistaken, in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God: yet it is commendable in them to be fearfull in displeasing him, and carefull to obey him.

*Ans.* We see, be they right or wrong, whatever they opine and act is commendable. Suppose they mistook in preaching us into Rebellion, in pulling down Bishops, in taking away the Liturgy, in overturning the Foundations of Church and State, yet their Zeal is commendable. May not all Zealots plead thus? Suppose the Papists were mistaken in their Fiery Zeal to blow up the King and Parliament, and in the *Irish* Massacre, yet their Zeal was commendable, in designing to destroy those they judged the Enemies of their Church. Suppose they be mistaken in

wor-



worshipping the Saints, and their Images and Reliques, yet, since they think they please God, 'tis commendable. Suppose the Quakers mistaken in denying Magistrates and Ministers, and all Authority in Church and State, yet, in that they think they should displease God in owning those Powers, 'tis in them commendable to disown them. Is this the Counsel you would give to one who doubts and seeks your Resolution? Will this satisfy and deliver him from doubting, to tell him, Suppose you were mistaken; yet, if you think you are in the right, pursue your opinion, 'tis commendable? Saint Paul is a better Casuist, and gives other Counsel, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, abstain from all appearance of evil.* 1 Thes. 5: 21

7. That, because men are forbidden to preach unless they conform, they are tempted to infer, that Preaching being necessary to Salvation, and those things called Indifferent, being made necessary to Preaching, and preferred before it; therefore they are made necessary to Salvation, and preferred before that which God hath made necessary.

*Ans.* The Accusation is most untrue; those Indifferent things are not made necessary to Preaching, much less preferred before it; and those who are tempted thus to infer, because men are forbidden to preach, unless they dare subscribe and use those things, therefore those things (called Indifferent) are made necessary to Preaching, and preferred before it, are very weak Logicians.

Every thing that is required, is not required as necessary, as you have been often told. Many things are required as expedient, as decent, as comely, as orderly; so are our Ceremonies. Ministers are forbidden to read Prayers without the Surplice, to preach without a Gown: The Judges are forbidden to sit in Judgment, till they read their Commission; and are required to sit in their Scarlet; will any hence be tempted to infer, that the Surplice and Gown are made necessary to and preferred before Prayer and Preaching; and reading a Commission, and wearing Scarlet Robes are made necessary to and preferred before doing Justice?

2. Eve-

2. Every thing that is made necessary to any End or Action, is not thereby preferred before it. Methinks so many Learned Divines should know, that though these Indifferent things should be made necessary by the Command of the Church to Preaching, yet, it no way follows, they are preferred before it. The Means sure is made necessary to the obtaining the End, yet is not preferred before it. 'Tis, you will confess, justly forbidden, that Ordination should be given to any without Examination and Imposition of hands, or that any should preach without Ordination; yet, I think, you are not tempted to infer, that Examination, Imposition of hands and Ordination it self, though necessary, are to be preferred before Preaching. Follows their

8. R. which implies, we lay our Religion upon our particular Liturgy, and so teach the Papists to insult, Where was our Religion 200 years ago? the Common-prayer-book, as differing from the Mass-book, being not so old.

1. We thank you for your ingenuous Acknowledgment, that our Common-prayer-book differs from the Mass-book.

*Gage, History of the Indies.*

A Mass-priest, ( now yours ) turning from Popery to Presbyterianism, most impudently affirms them to be the same.

2. Religion is made up of Doctrine, Worship and Government; our Liturgy is our Form of Publick Worship, and so a part of our Religion; and, being agreeable to God's Word, nor Papists, nor your selves, can justly except against it. For their Question, Where was our Religion 200 years ago? You might know, they make it not so much upon the change of our Liturgy ( themselves in Queen Elizabeth's time for many years joining in it ) as upon pretence we have changed our Doctrine; and the Question as it hath been oft, *Et ad ravim usque*, by them asked, it hath been by us as oft and satisfactorily answered; and if we should ( as we do not ) lay our Religion upon our Liturgy, 'tis most agreeable to the Scriptures, where our Religion is, and contains all the Fundamentals of Religion; and your Mr. Calvin doth witness it for us, *That the Common-prayer-book doth excellently contain the chief heads of our Religion.*

The Creed,  
Com-  
mand-  
ments, the  
Lord's  
Prayer and  
Sacra-  
ments.

The 9. is, A Request for Liberty upon

on an Insinuation, That no Liturgical Forms were imposed on any Church in the primitive times.

*Ans. 1.* Then sure, the now named, your much Reverend Mr. *Calvin* was either ignorant of the Constitutions of the primitive times, or had other Sentiments of them then you, who declares his Judgment contrary to you, *Quoad formulam Precum & Rituum Ecclesiasticorum, valde probo ut certa illa exstet, à qua Pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat.* As to the Form of Prayers and Ecclesiastical Rights, I greatly approve that it be settled, from which it may not be lawfull for the Pastors in their Function to vary or depart.

2. You have surely heard of the Liturgies of *S. Peter*, *S. James*, and *S. Mark*, and that of *S. Mark*, *S. Cyril* owns and comments upon in his *Catechism*, and *S. Cyril* was a Bishop in the primitive times, living about the year of *Christ* 350. and *S. Basil*, a famous and primitive Bishop too, was deeply censured and put to make painfull Apologies for a little Change he made in the usual Church-liturgy: It was thought in him (saith our Authour) an unpardonable



Offence to alter any thing, in us, as intolerable, that we suffer any thing unaltered in the Liturgy.

R. 10. *And if you should reject (which God forbid) the moderate Proposals which now and formerly we have made, we humbly crave leave to offer it to your consideration, what Judgment all the Protestant Churches are likely to pass on your Proceedings, and how your Cause and ours will stand represented to them and to all succeeding ages.*

*Answ.* Their moderate Proposals we have heard, which they now make, that they may be free from the established Government and Liturgy of the Church, and they, as Able and Godly, continued in the choicest Livings they had invaded; and the Episcopal kept out, as Scandalous, Negligent and Insufficient.

What moderate Proposals they made formerly I am to learn, they know his late Majesty made to them moderate Proposals, but was refused; and, they confess, the Lord Primate of Ireland made moderate Proposals, but by them never accepted.

As to their bold *Appeal to all Protestant Churches*, presuming they will give their

their Judgments for them, and against the Church of *England's* established Constitutions; which they have the huge Confidence to prophesie even of the Judgment of all succeeding ages. They might, without a Revelation, by their Judgment past and present have foreseen their Judgment for the future. The past age hath cryed Grace, Grace to our happy, orderly and moderate Reformation in Doctrine, Government and Worship; the Protestant Churches have given us the Right-hand of Fellowship, have maintained sweet Communion with us, have in Marian Persecution received our Exiles; their most eminent Lights have sent us high Congratulations; their ablest Ministers have, divers of them, come over, and with Joy beheld our Order; and some have lived and died amongst us.

What Judgment did Mr. *Beza* give? Let himself speak, *Quod si nunc*, — If now the Reformed Churches of *England*, being underprop'd with the Authority of Bishops and Archbishops, do continue as this hath hapened to that Church in our memory, That she hath had Men of that Calling, not onely most  
no-

notable Martyrs, but also excellent Pastors and Doctors ; let them truly enjoy that singular Blessing of God, which I wish may be perpetual unto her.

What Judgment did *Peter Martyr* pass in the Case of Bishop *Hooper* , about the Ceremonies ? Did he not answer his Arguments ? vindicate the lawfulness of them ? exhort him to submit unto them ? The Judgment of Doctor *Moulin* you have heard, and much more might be told you of the high Honour he had for the Church of *England*. And, to come nearer, what Judgment the Protestant Churches passed upon your Covenant ; your Reforming the Church by the Sword, and in the Bloud of the Nursing Father and the Prime Pastour of it , with many Thousands more, you have surely heard. Were they not ashamed, confounded and astonished at our Schisms and Seditions, and Violations of all Authority Sacred and Civil ? And, Have not your Actions in the late lamentable times cast a Blemish upon the Honour of our Nation never to be washed off ? An *English-man* daring scarce to look another man in the face in a foreign Countrey, be-

being under the Objection and Re-  
proach of Rebellion, Murthering their  
King, Changing the best tempered Mo-  
narchy in the World into a puny  
Common-wealth, and that swallowed  
up soon into a Barbarous Protectour-  
ship; and Abasing the most primitive  
and venerable Episcopacy into a novel  
and contemptible Parity and Linsy-  
woolsey Presbytery, made up of Prea-  
chers and Lay-elders, and that too  
straight undermined and baffled by a  
Mushrome Independency: *Pudet hæc  
Opprobria vobis & dici potuisse, & non  
potuisse refelli.* This is the past Judg-  
ment of the Protestant Churches abroad  
concerning our Church established, and  
you who ruined it, till God in mercy  
restored it. For the Churches of suc-  
ceeding ages; I think they will hardly  
believe the History of ours. That such  
men as you, professing highest Godli-  
ness, should, in a pretended zeal for it,  
preach up Sedition and Schism, and em-  
broil the Church and Nation wherein  
you were born and baptized in Bloud  
and Confusion: and, which seems more  
incredible, Appeal to all Protestant  
Churches in your own Justification:  
nay,

may, Supplicate the King ( whose Roy-  
al Father was martyred, and himself  
long banished for standing up in defence  
of the Church which you opposed and  
by Force destroyed ) to screen you  
from the Churches Power, to grant  
you the chief Benefices in the Church,  
and give you Liberty to be of another  
Church, to enjoy a Worship and Go-  
vernment of your own Model and Mo-  
del.

But, my Brethren, how come you to  
make this lowd Challenge? Why en-  
quire you, or rather, Why presume you,  
what Judgment the Protestant Church-  
es will make of our Churches procee-  
dings? Sure your mighty Zeal and ar-  
dent Affection to your Cause hath clou-  
ded your own Judgment, and quite be-  
reaved you of your Memory. You  
mention often, and with seeming re-  
gard, his Majesties gracious Declarati-  
on touching Ecclesiastical Affairs: he  
therein tells you the present Judgment  
of the Reformed Churches abroad, and,  
had you Faith to believe his Royal  
word, you might have spared this Ar-  
gument and Out-cry, which you may  
blush for, and wish you had suppressed.  
Hear



*his Challenge accepted.*

09

Hear his Majesty speaking their Judgment.

*We do think Our self the more competent to propose, and, with God's Assistance, to determine many things now in Difference, from the time We have spent, and the experience We have had in most of the Reformed Churches abroad, in France, the Low-countries, and Germany; where We have had frequent Conference with the most Learned men, who have unanimously lamented the great Reproach the Protestant Religion undergoes from the Distempers and too notorious Schisms in Matters of Religion in England: And as the most Learned among them have alwaies, with great Submission and Reverence, acknowledged and magnified the established Government of the Church of England, and the great Countenance and Shelter the Protestant Religion received from it before these unhappy times: So many of them have, with great Ingenuity and Sorrow, confessed, that they were too easily mis-led, by misinformation and prejudice, into some disesteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of Rome; whereas they now acknowledg it to be the best*  
Fence

*Fence God hath yet raised against Popery in the World; and We are persuaded they do with great Zeal wish it restored to its old Dignity and Veneration.*

You see what Judgment the Protestant Churches have passed upon the Church of *England*, and her former Proceedings, and thereby may take an Estimate, what Judgment they will pass on her present Proceedings, and how the Church's Cause and yours will be represented to them: They will acknowledge and magnifie, with great Submission and Reverence, the established Government of the Church of *England*, if you dare believe his Majesty, and consequently will censure you as Schismatical and Disobedient, to refuse to submit unto it.

But I must not misrepresent you your Submission you profess.

*If after our Submission to his Majesty's Declaration, and after our own Proposals of the primitive Episcopacy, and of such a Liturgy as we here tender, we may not be permitted to exercise our Ministry, the Pens of those moderate Bishops will bear witness against you, that were once employed as the chief Defenders of that Cause,*

*Cause, (we mean such as Reverend Bishop Hall and Usher) who have published to the World, that much less than this might have served to our fraternal Unity and Peace.*

*Ans.* You before appealed to the Protestant Churches abroad, now unto two Bishops of our own, and with like Success.

I. You say you have submitted to his Majestie's Declaration, you should have instanced wherein. His Majesty there declares, That, *having seen all the Liturgies that are extant and used in this part of the World, he esteems that of the Church of England to be the best, and well knows the Reverence the most, or at least the most Learned in the Reformed Churches, have for it; he heartily wishes and desires, until it be reviewed, and some Alterations and Additional Forms made, the Ministers, who dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not therefore totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common-prayer, but reade those parts against which there can be no exception, which would be the best instance of declining those marks of distinction which his Majesty so much labours and desires to remove.* Have

Have you herein submitted to his Majestie's Declaration? Have you read any thing of the Common Prayers, and thereby instanced your desire in compliance with his Majestie's, to remove and decline those marks of distinction? What you can lay hold of to your purpose in his Declaration, you greedily catch at, the rest you pass by.

However you pretend to submit to his Majestie's Declaration, he therein complains, your Party ( of which you are the Leaders ) *have not dealt candidly with him, that there are amongst them unquiet and restless Spirits who continue their Bitterness against the Church, and indeavour to raise Jealousies against his Majesty, and have unseasonably printed, published and dispersed a Declaration to his Majestie's Reproach; and since the printing this Declaration ( you say you submit to ) several seditious Pamphlets and Quæries have been published and scattered abroad, to infuse Dislike and Jealousies into the Hearts of the People.* Behold your Submission to his Majestie's Declaration.

You next tell us of your own Proposals of the Primitive Episcopacy, and your

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onely with Bishop Hall; and when *Smeđymnus* was not able to dispute him down, your *Rabshakeh* railed him down; and however you now complement him, you have shewn your present Esteem of him and of the Primitive Episcopacy, in reprinting your *Smeđymnus* now, since his Majestie's Restoration; and if, as you say, he and Bishop *Usher* have published to the World, that much less than that would have served to a fraternal Peace; you publish to the World, you have been obstinate and averse to Peace and Unity; who, when you had the Law in your hands, would not hearken to those, by you confessed, Moderate Terms of Unity and Peace, and your own Pens will bear witness against you, that you are now justly repulsed, who would not yield when fair means of Accommodation were offered as to Re-ordination, which you often mention, and here it comes in again.

1. We deny your Presbyterian and Independent (so called) Ordination to be really and indeed any Ordination at all; and till you prove it such, you charge the Bishops falsely with requiring Re-ordination,

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2. Many who have been under your hands have of themselves (without being required) judging your pretended Ordination a Nullity, desired Ordination from the Bishops.

3. The Canon (supposed) of the Apostles toucheth not this Case, nor our Bishops, who neither do re-ordain nor allow it: Re-ordaining, rightly so called, being the Ordaining again of a Deacon or Priest by a Bishop, who was by him known to have been by a Bishop before ordained.

4. Bishop *Bancroft* speaks of those who were ordained by Presbyters, where were no Bishops to ordain them, as in many of the Reformed Churches abroad.

But we had Bishops till you pull'd them down: Nay, blessed be God, we had Bishops after you had pull'd them down, and till his Majesty set them up again, and those who would, in all the late times, might have had, and very many had Ordination from their hands: 'tis therefore a most gross Untruth, and 'tis strange, such Godly men as you should dare to utter and publish it, That your young Preachers, by

the old Presbyters sent, were born in an Age and Countrey which required Ordination by Parochial Pastors without Diocefans: if there had been no Bishops, you might then have said, the Age and Countrey required (lest the Church should fail) Ordination from Parochial Pastors; but I say, and you to your Sorrow know, there were Bishops all that time, divers *English* and also *Scotish* and *Irish* Bishops, who, though many of them were latent, yet were and might be addressed to, and did all along confer holy Orders: there are at least five *English* Bishops living to my knowledge, and you may know more, having the Honour to be joyned with them in Commission, which all good men are sorry is not on your part managed temperately and humbly, prudently and piously, to the Peace of the Church, by your selves chiefly (but for all our sins) long and lamentably divided.

R. 11. Is a repeated Complaint of their Afflictions, and an Accusation of the Bishops as their Afflictors, which is already answered.

The Twelfth and Fourteenth are the same,

same, and shall be considered together.

The 13<sup>th</sup> is hammered on the same Anvil with the 11<sup>th</sup>; That they are the Godly party, and afflicted; the Episcopal are cruel, and persecute them for the Cause of *Christ*: *How will Christ take it of you to cast out from the Ministry, or Communion of the Church, or to grieve and punish all that dare not conform to you in these Matters?*

*Ans.* How will *Christ* take it from you to cast out all Bishops and Episcopal men who durst not conform to you in your Matters? The Bishops Proceedings are by gentle methods: 1. They Admonish; 2. Suspend; 3. Silence; before they deprive any; and none are deprived, but for foul and incorrigible Crimes: but you eject at first, and totally, for no Crime, for no Breach of the Laws and Orders, but even for that the Episcopal persons stand for the Laws and Orders established.

You trod down the Stars of *Christ's* planting as the Stones in the street: All those places of Scripture misapplied by you, may against you be rightly applied.

And whereas elsewhere they say to this purpose, Sad Experience tels the World, that if the Ministers we are pleading for be laid aside, there are not competent men enough to supply their room.

*Ans.* Their Care, that there be a supply of competent men to serve the Church, is commendable and pious: But why did they not take that Care when it was in their power, when themselves laid aside and cast out Thousands, to provide competent men to supply their rooms? Indeed for competent and great Livings they provided; but the places that were poor, if empty they filled them not, if full by persons never so incompetent they amended it not. I believe it is a measured Truth, never were so many places unprovided, never so many meanly provided, as in those times since the first times of *Queen Elizabeth*, when competent Ministers (as now required to be qualified) could not be had for many places; one indeed I have heard of, having in Zeal helped to eject his Minister out of a small Living, desired the Clerk of the Committee for plundered Ministers, to commend  
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a Minister unto them; he answered, O, none of us will accept of that, you must provided as you can.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Reason, the same as I told you, and you may find with the 12<sup>th</sup>, tels us the Constitutions of the Church are against their Judgment; and they have not their Judgments at Command; and were they never so willing to believe they ought to obey them, they cannot therefore believe the Impositions lawfull because they would, the Intellect being not free.

*Ans.* What is every body's Argument is no Argument. Thus may the *Jew*, the *Turk*, the *Papists*, the *Quakers* plead for their own, and against the true Religion; and thus your Independent Brethren have argued in their *Pleas for Toleration*, which once you opposed; but now you sharpen your Goads at their Forges: You bring an Objection, as made by us, that we may say, 'tis your own fault, that your Judgments are not changed, and that the means have been sufficient, to which you shape an Answer, such as it is, but which may make your selves blush.

*That the Sword can easilier take this*  
I 4 *for*

for granted, than the Tongue or Pen of man prove. My Brethren, *Quorsum hæc?* You might well have spared the mention of the *Sword*; Why do you expose your own Miscarriages to the review of the World? Who were those that drew the *Sword* for Reformation? Who called to Arm? Who promised Heaven to all that would take up the *Sword* in that blessed Cause of the Covenant? when you were then told of the Word and of the Laws, you could answer with that *Roman*, *Nunquamne nobis Gladiis succinctis Leges recitare desinetis?* Tell you us, who have our *Swords* by our sides, of the Laws? We tell you, we have drawn our *Swords* to cut in sunder those Gordian Knots, your Parchment Laws. So of late your Heroick *Oliver* to those who pleaded the Laws and ancient Charters granted and confirmed by our Kings, *Magna Charta*, *Magna Far*—

But, I pray you, what *Sword* do the Bishops, whom you plead with, use, but the *Spiritual*? They are no Popes, who challenge *Potestatem utriusque Gladii*; They are no Presbyterians, who are Co-ordinate Powers with Kings and Princes;

ces; and for their Tongues and Pens, you must strike Sail, till you shall be able to encounter and conquer those Worthies, Bishop *Whitgift*, Bishop *Bil-son*, Dr. *Sander-son*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Ma-son*, and many more such Generals in the Lord's Host, with whom your *Hil-der-sham*, *Baines*, *Parker*, *Ames*, *Dod*, *Ball*, *Nichols*, are not to be named the same day.

15. We crave leave to ask, Whether your selves do not in some things mis-take?

Good Leave have you, and you ask a wise Question, with a Consequence as wild: in your Covenant you yoake Popery with Prelacy, and now you wittily and merrily ask the Prelates, Whether they think themselves, as the Pope, Infallible; and yet your Party proclaim themselves next to Infallible. I need not remember you where they say, Loath we are to think that they who are most sound in Doctrine should mistake in Discipline: Well, but the Prelates will confess, they may mistake, are not infallible; What's the Consequence? If you may mistake in any thing, may it not be in such great things

things as these? and in the same breath you say, These great things are the smallest, Ceremonies and Circumstances of Worship. I conceive you speak this Ironically, otherwise your Inference is in you a foul mistake: understanding men may mistake in great things; *ergo* they may mistake in small things. However, on this Supposition you destroy all Power in men to make Laws in great or small things, because Governours are men, and may err and mistake in some things; *ergo* they may make Laws in nothing.

16. *Whether this be doing as you would be done by? would you be cast out for every fault that is as bad as this? Put your selves in their case, and suppose you had studied, conferred and prayed, and done your best to know whether God would have you to be re-ordained, and to use these Forms, Ceremonies, Subscriptions, or not; and, having done all, you think that God would be displeased if you should use them; would you then be used your selves as your dissenting Brethren are now used or like to be?*

*Ans.* This is their strongest and fairest Argument, drawn from the general Rule

Rule of Equity and Charity, and 'tis easie to retort it, being much more strong on the Bishops part. Put your selves in the Bishops case, and suppose you had studied, conferred, prayed, and done your best to know whether God would have you to preach Resistance against your Sovereign, renounce Episcopacy, cast out the Church Liturgy; and, having done all, you think (nay, are sure, for thinking will not doe) that God would be displeased if you should doe so; would you be used your selves as your party used the Bishops? imprisoned, beheaded, sequestred.

17. Reason is drawn from the Divisions caused by imposing things unnecessary, and the Unity and Peace which would follow, if men might enjoy their Liberty, and might have leave to serve God as his Apostles did; and upon these they enlarge in four whole Pages: *Nothing more affecteth us than to think of the lamentable Divisions that have been caused and are still like to be, while things unnecessary are so imposed; and on the contrary, how blessed an Unity and Peace we might enjoy, if these occasions*  
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*of Division were removed, and we might but have leave to serve God as the Apostles did.*

*Ans.* If it affect you so much to think upon the Divisions, it should affect you to think that you have been and are the chief cause of them, and you might, if your Will stood not in your way, remove them; but you mightily mistake both the Cause and the Cure of our Divisions, which are the direct contrary to what you surmise. The Cause of our Divisions is the Liberty you desire; the Cure would be your Obedience to the Church's lawfull Impositions, and this not onely Reason but your own Experience might have taught you. You cast off the Reins of Church Government, you set your selves at Liberty. Did this Cure your Divisions and create among you Peace and Unity? No, after you had divided from the Church, and cast off its Rule and Orders; you subdivided among your selves, and broke all into pieces and parties; never did any Age see such lamentable Divisions in this Church and Nation. But you accuse the Bishops, as if they will not give you leave to  
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serve God as his Apostles did: God forgive you this as false as foul an Accusation. Do not the Bishops maintain, and the Church stedfastly continue in the Apostles Doctrine? Do they not against the *Romanists*, who would obtrude upon us their Traditions in conjunction with the Scriptures, assert the Scripture alone to be a most perfect Rule of Faith and Manners? Do they not serve God as the Apostles have taught? and so may you in Communion with our Church. Truly if your meaning be, that they give you not leave to serve God as Apostles, and no less or lower will serve you, than to be as they, to give Laws to all the Churches, and to be under the Laws of none; you must prove your selves to be such before you crave that leave: But though you are not Apostles, yet you are Prophets; you foresee and foretell the Sufferings of your Innocent Party—Strangel! What a Noise they make in almost every Paragraph, lamenting and repeating their Sufferings? We are, against our wills, enforced as often to let them know, and I wish they would rightly resent, and lay it  
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to heart, that the Bishops and Conformable Clergy have been really Sufferers for many years, and in the Loss of all they had, and they the Causes of their Sufferings, and for all those years enjoyed all Ease and Plenty, and at this time of their present loud Complaint they have yet suffered nothing, and are certain they shall not doe, if they will return to their Duty, all their former Miscarriages, being by his Majesty's Mercy buried in oblivion; and if they will doe so, they may be received into Favour, and are as capable of all Preferments as any the truest Sons of the Church. I am unwilling to remark the other part of their Prophecie, ripping up our Divisions (by their Party raised and continued ever since the Reformation) they in effect threaten, they will be their Sons and Heirs, and that we must not expect Peace, but look for Misery and Division, unless they may have their Demands, to be as free and high as the Apostles: and here, as their manner is, they heap up a multitude of Scriptures, you may judge how pertinently by the first they alledge, 1 *Philippians*, 14. There *St. Paul* saith,

saith, *Many of the Brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by his bonds, were much more bold to speak the Word without fear.* This Text they cite to prove that the Bonds and Burthens and Displeasure which is upon them from their Superiours, hinders them from serving the Lord without fear. Saint Paul's bonds made these Brethren confident, and set them above fear. But our Brethren, upon their meer fancy of Bonds and Burthens, are faint-hearted, and with fear even distracted. The other Scriptures make as little for them or against the Bishops: and so I shall pass them over.

The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Reasons are of the same Bran, yet again and again they cry up their Abilities and their Godliness, and cry out of their Sufferings and Persecutions, and the Ungodliness of all who are not of their way. I cannot conceive the Reason, why this one Topick of their Sufferings makes up more than Ten of their Twenty Reasons, and they bring it in over and over so very often, but that they think no body knows or will believe they have suffered any thing, and therefore they say it so often; or else by the  
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loud and repeated Cry of their own, they would drown the loud Cry of the Bishops Sufferings by them and their Party, which yet the Bishops themselves pass by in Silence; but the World cannot but take notice of with much concernment.

Let us yet hear them again.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> they call themselves the *Holy Seed*, and so many able Ministers laid aside; and that many of them suffer; and that the Ungodly add Affliction to their Affliction. And in the 19<sup>th</sup>, So many truly fearing God, being cast or trodden down, are tempted to think ill of that which themselves and the Church thus suffer by; and when so many of the worst befriend this way, because it gratifieth them, it tendeth to make your Cause judged of, according to the qualities of its friends or adversaries. Of their Sufferings enough, and too much of their Godliness and the Ungodliness of all who are not of their Party. We have heard often too, 'tis their strain and way, with the Pharisee, to stand on their Tiptoes, and say, *God I thank thee I am not thus and thus, I am not such as this Publican.*

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The worst, they say, befriend that way.

1. That's no proof of the evil of that way, rather of the goodness which shines forth so apparently, that it convinces and even enforces the worst of men to approve it, *Video meliora, proboque.*

2. Who are those worst? The King, the Parliament, and all the obedient Sons of the Church, of all Estates and Qualities. This is usually their great proof, that themselves truly fear God, their dislike of established Order; this their evidence, that others have not the fear of God, their Obedience to those whom God hath set over them in Church and State. By the one they commend themselves, by the other they condemn all but themselves; and that this is no untrue Accusation they have made appear, in that they made no difference between the best and the worst, but cast out all of the Episcopal way: Nay, as one of them pleading before them the Sobriety and Unblameableness of his Life and Conversation, they told him to this effect, He should fare the worse for that, they liked not so

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well a sober as a scandalous Malignant , who gave their Proceedings against him some colour of Justice.

2. They tell us they are tempted to think ill of that they suffer by.

*Ans.* 'Tis easie to guess whence that Temptation is, a Criminal is tempted to think ill of the Law, because he suffers by it ; Ungodly men are tempted to think ill of God , and murmur at him , because they suffer by his just Judgments for their Wickedness : You are taught otherwise, *Matt. 5. 44.*

20. *We repeat what formerly we have said , That the Holy Ghost hath already so plainly decided the point in controversy in the Instance of Meats and Days , Rom. 14. 15. that it seemeth strange to us that yet it should remain a Controversie. A weak Brother, that maketh an unnecessary difference of Meats and Days, is not to be cast out, but so to be received, and not to be troubled with such doubtfull Disputations ; despising and judging the Servants of the Lord whom he receiveth, and can make to stand , and that upon such small occasion , is unbecoming true Believers.*

Their 20<sup>th</sup> Reason is delivered with  
so

so mighty Confidence, that they would make us believe it looks like a Demonstration. But 'tis scarce worthy the name of a Reason. They tell us, The Holy Ghost hath decided the Point in controverſie between us — that they think it ſtrange 'tis yet a Controverſie. A ſtrange Preſumption, whereby they at once condemn all the Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts too in this Church ever ſince the Reformation. They think it ſtrange, 'tis a Controverſie; and yet know, 'tis the great Controverſie of theſe 100 years: What Volumes have been written *pro* and *con* upon this Subject, The Church's Power in things indifferent? their own it ſeems wanted the Illumination of the Holy Ghost, who could not ſee and ſhew that his plain Deciſion, and ſo were fain to argue againſt the Church's Orders with their ſlender Probabilities: And ours, in theſe charitable mens Judgment, were Reſiſters of the Holy Ghost, in aſſerting the Church's Power to command for Decency and Order, the Holy Ghost having plainly decided the Point againſt them, that they had no ſuch Power, the moſt reverend *Whitgift, Morton,*

*Hall, Hooker, Mason, Sanderſon.* I wonder you did not demonſtrate to this laſt, Dr. *Sanderſon* ( who, I ſuppoſe, was a Commiſſioner on the Biſhops part ) his wilfull Sin and Errour, in Preaching and Writing ſo earneſtly for the Church's Ceremonies, from this very 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the *Romans* : we look upon him as the great Caſuiſt of the Age ; a moſt rare Preacher and Textuary ; his Temper truly Chriſtian and primitive, charitable, humble, meek, modeſt even to diffidence ; his Diſcourſes profound, and yet plain to the meaneſt capacity ; nothing more clear, more clean, more cogent and convincing : And we judge thoſe two Sermons of his, one upon the firſt of *St. Peter*, 2. 16. the other upon *Romans*, 14.23. do fully aſſert the Church's Conſtitutions by the Non-conformiſts oppoſed, and fairly repreſent, and fully answer their Objections ; and Maſter *Hooker* had with as much meekneſs and ſtrength done it before : you have Time and Numbers, if you reſolve to ſtand out, and not conform, to answer Mr. *Hooker* point by point ; your many hands may make the work light : but to make it ſhort and eaſie, I chal-  
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lenge a whole *Smeſymnus* of you to answer onely Dr. *Sanderson* solidly and foundly, and I shall promise you to renounce Conformity, and if you cannot (as I know you cannot) you are self-condemned if you renounce not Non-conformity; and now I shall be as highly confident as your selves, and shall affirm in a direct contradiction to yours, that the Holy Ghost hath so plainly decided the Point in Controversie on the Church's part, that she hath Power to command things indifferent for Decency and Order in God's Worship, in the *1 Corinth. c. 14. v. 40.* That 'tis strange it should be yet a Controversie: Nay, the Church had that Power as to outward Order and Decency to appoint Rites and Ceremonies even when God himself had made Laws for Ceremonies, and those so many, that we might have thought none could or might be added.

The Religious Kings and Governors of the *Jewish* Church enjoyed divers things concerning God's Worship which were not by God commanded.

There was no Commandment of God assigning the Priests Order, Manner and Times of Attendance in the Service of



the Temple; yet *David* and *Solomon* appointed them, and the Priests conformed and observed them. There was no Commandment for Singers, Psalteries, Organs, Cimbals, Harps; yet *David* appointed for the Temple this Musick vocal and instrumental. There was no Commandment for the Feast of *Purim*; yet *Mordecai* enjoined it, *Hester* set it forward, and the *Jews* established it for succeeding Generations. There was no Commandment for the Feast of Dedication; yet our Saviour observed it. If therefore the *Jewish* Church, when God himself had instituted abundance of Ceremonies, might and did appoint others, besides those by God commanded, which were generally by all without contradiction observed; surely *à fortiori*, the Christian Church, having no Law of particular Ceremonies and Rites given by *Christ*, (since without Religious Rites God cannot be publickly worshipped in any orderly and decent manner) may, especially having a general Law to authorize her, *1 Corinth. c. 14.* constitute and appoint such Rites, and we must obey her Constitutions in things neither commanded  
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nor prohibited. But to come closely to their 20<sup>th</sup> Reason, since, *ad Triarios ventum est*, 'tis their last, and that in which they place their greatest strength.

The Holy Ghost (say they) hath plainly decided the Point in controversy in the Instance of Meats and Days, *Rom. 14. & 15.* A weak brother that maketh an unnecessary difference of Meats and Days is not to be cast out, but so to be received.

I shall here premise the weighty Monition of Dr. Sanderson, O beware of misapplying Scripture, it is a thing easily done; but not so easily answered. I know not any one gap that hath let in more and more dangerous Errours into the Church than this, that men take the words of the Sacred Text fitted to particular occasions, and to the condition of the time wherein they were written, and then apply them to themselves and others, as they find them, without due respect had to the differences that may be between those times and cases, and the present. Sundry things spoken in the Scripture, agreeable to the infancy of the Church, would sort very ill with the Church in her fulness of strength and stature. This Caution di-

rects me to tell the Petitioners, that the Point and Case in controverſie between us and them is hugely different from that *Rom. c. 14. v. 15.* in reſpect of the Time, the Perſons, and Matter in difference.

I. For the Time; The *Jewiſh* Church was now expiring, its Conſtitution diſſolved; The *Chriſtian* Church, ſucceeding it, was in planting, in its infancy; in this time, when the Church was not ſettled, and its Order not fully eſtabliſhed, the new Converts, being tender Plants, were to be tenderly uſed, and all ſorts, in pious Prudence, to be indulged; but not ſo in a Church planted and ſettled, then and there all its Members are obliged to obey its Orders, and not to caſt them off upon pretence of Conſcience or Chriſtian Liberty; the Troubles at *Francford* they mention, though much to the hindrance of the Reformation, becauſe in the infancy and beginning of it; yet becauſe in the beginning of it, that Party which oppoſed the new-made Conſtitutions of our Church were not ſo culpable as theſe Troublers, who, a hundred years after the Orders of the Church had obtained  
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and happily flourished, have invaded and overturned all Order and Government, and now, that 'tis restoring, keep up the same humour of opposing it.

2. The case is different in respect of the Persons differing about Meats and Days; The one Party were weak, the other strong in Faith and Judgment of their Christian Liberty: Now of whether sort are our Non-conformists? The strong, in modesty, they will not call themselves; and the weak, they will take it ill to be called, being the Chieftains and Chosen ones of their Party, and giving themselves the Title of Able and Godly, and who are now contesting with 20 Reasons (and this last in their esteem irrefragable) against the most Learned Defenders of the Church's Orders. But if (as they seem to insinuate) they are the weak Brethren, then their weakness deserves compassion, yet for that very Reason (their weakness) owes submission to the better Judgment of the strong, especially, they being out Subjects and private persons, and obedience to the formerly established and now to be restored Order: An yeldance there must be on the one part,

part, and whether the weak ought to submit to the strong, and obey the **Laws**, or the strong must submit to the weak, and give them leave to trample the **Laws** under their feet, let the weakest judge. But how long will these Brethren be weak? Will they be Children of a Hundred years, after so long time and teaching, and means of Instruction?

*The Church* (as saith the Excellent *Dr. Sanderſon*) hath sufficiently declared and published the Innocency of her purpose and meaning in enjoining the Ceremonies; nor ſo onely; but hath been content to hear, receive and admit the *Objections and Reasons of the Refusers*; and hath taken pains to answer and ſatisfie to the full all that ever could be ſaid in that behalf; and therefore it is vanity in theſe men to alledge weakneſs where all good means have been plentifully uſed for full information in the Points in doubt; ſo that we may, without breach of Charity, conclude from ſo plain Premiſſes, that not their weakneſs, but wilfullneſs is the real Cause of their Refuſal to conform.

3. The caſe is different in the Matter



ter and Thing it self in controversie. Those Meats and Days about whose observation there was variance, *Rom. c. 14.* were once, and a long time, not indifferent, but under Divine Precept, the one commanded, the other prohibited; but our Ceremonies were alwaies indifferent, never under any Divine Precept, nor commanded, nor prohibited: The Reason why those weak Brethren observed the Days and abstained from the Meats was, They knew there was a Law of God for it, and they knew not that it was abolished: But our weak Brethren have no such Reason to refuse the Ceremonies by the Church enjoined, since they were never by any Law of God forbidden. Those weak Brethren feared to sin where God had made a Law; our weak Brethren fear to sin where God hath made no Law, or rather, where he hath made a general and standing Law, that we should obey our Governours in their Ordinances which are not contrary to his Laws. Let me add, the Point is greatly different in this respect also; That the Apostle gives a Liberty onely for a time, to use or not to use those

those Legal Ceremonies, for afterwards he cuts off that Liberty, and forbids those Legal Observations to the *Colossians* and to the *Galatians*, and that with great Severity: They were before *Mortua*, and allowed a decent Burial: But now, after full Instruction that they were nailed to *Christ's* Cross and buried in his Grave, they were *Mortifera*, 'twas deadly to raise or revive them; and now, upon second thoughts, our Brethren, I hope, will see they have cause to abate their Confidence; the Point in Controversie being very different about the *Jewish* Rites and the Ceremonies of our Church.

Herein we cannot but discern and allow them to be like; In that, First, Those Brethren, who judged the other, were weak, and so are these, though their Reason stronger by much, they having the Law for them, these no Law.

Secondly, Those weak Brethren were in the Errour, so are ours.

But, Thirdly, The Errour of those directly contrary to the Errour of these. Those Brethren were zealous for the Ceremonies, these Brethren are zealous against the Ceremonies. I shall end this Point

Point in that solid and convincing Answer of Mr. *L'Estrange* to this their 20<sup>th</sup> Reason, and I beseech them to read and weigh it without prejudice to his person and manner of writing; he is smart and pleasant, and doth, I confess, *Ludere cum Sanctis*, (I mean onely with such Saints as our Brethren,) but I appeal to themselves whether he be not here serious, and hath not rightly interpreted the place, and stated the case, and determined the Point in controversie.

*Would our Divines persuade us, that the case of Meats and Days, whereof the Apostle speaks, is of the same nature with that of Ceremonies which we are now debating, or that a weak Brother is not to be distinguished from a peevish? See how vast a difference lies between them, under the Law God himself put a difference between Meats and Days, which difference ceast upon the coming of our Blessed Saviour: Some thought it still a point of Conscience to observe the Law, and these the Apostle calls, Weak Brethren: Others again, that knew the Law was abrogated, quitted these Scruples; and of these it is that St. Paul saies, We which are strong ought to bear the In-*  
firmi-

firmities of the weak : *now mark, That which was formerly imposed is now become a thing indifferent, that is, indifferent to the strong and knowing, not to those who were not convinc'd of the Determination of the former Ty and Duty ; and this is the true ground of the Apostle's Tenderneſs here concerning Scandal, Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Chriſt died.*

*See how their caſe now matches ours ; They durſt not eat, becauſe they knew that once they were bound , and they did not know likewise that they were now diſcharged. Let our Reformers ſhew as much for Ceremonies ; Either that humane Impoſitions ( for Decency and Order he means ) were ever forbidden, or that thoſe practis'd in our Church are in themſelves unlawfull.*

They next would father an Objection upon the Aſſertors of the Church's Orders and Impoſitions—If you ſay—Rulers , Impoſition maketh Indifferent things ceaſe to be indifferent—We answer—But till they ſay as you would make them, you may ſave your Answer, they are not obliged to a Reply ; you may ſee the Church's ſenſe to be quite  
another

another thing than this you would impose upon them, in *Dr. Sanderson's Sermon, 1 Pet. 2. 16.*

To what you add from *1 Cor. 8. 13.* *Paul* was a Ruler of the Church himself, and yet would deny his own Liberty rather than offend the weak : So far was he from taking away the Liberty of others. The Answer is made already, the Case being foreign, and nothing to our Controversie ; The same now mentioned about *eating Meats offered to Idols* wherewith the weak were offended. What is this to the Point in controversie ? We must deny our Liberty rather than offend the weak, *Ergo*, the Church may not prescribe Rules about Indifferent things ; and that invidious and reflecting Passage added— So far was he from taking away the Liberty of others—is as little to your purpose ; you have been taught, and might learn, that the Church, in prescribing Indifferent things, takes away no man's Liberty : The things prescribed are in their own nature, and in the Judgment both of the Imposer and the intelligent Observer of them the same they were before, Indifferent. I obey the  
the



the Church, yet preserve my Liberty, still judging the thing Indifferent which it commands; and I obey not the Command as any necessary part of Religion, but as the Church commands it, which I am bound to obey for Decency and Order. *They that make Laws concerning Indifferent things have no intention at all to meddle with the nature of them, they leave that in medio as they found it; but onely for some reasons of conveniency, order the use of them, the Indifference of their nature still being where it was.*

They are very unhappy in alledging that Scripture, *Acts* 15. 28. which concludes directly for the Church, against them, we may tell them in their own words, the Holy Ghost hath there so plainly decided the Point in controversy, that it seems strange to us, that yet it should remain a controversie; they have here thrown down all they have built; all their 20 Reasons fall and are broken in pieces, as *Dagon* before the Ark.

This Chapter acquaints us, that some *Jews*, though converted to the Christian Faith and embracing the Gospel, yet

yet thought themselves bound to the Observation of the whole *Mosaical* Law, and they thought the converted Gentiles so bound also, and told them that, except they were circumcized, and kept the Law of *Moses*, they could not be saved. Hereupon arises Dissention and Disputation, and an Appeal is made to a Council at *Jerusalem*, which upon the hearing and debating the Question determines, That the converted Gentiles should not be obliged to Circumcision nor to the Ceremonial Law, but in yeldance to the converted *Jews*, who were zealous of the Law, and to keep Peace with them, they should abstain from some few things in their nature indifferent, but necessary in order to Peace and Charity, *from Meats offered to Idols, from Bloud, and from things strangled.* Behold here the First and Greatest Council that ever was in the Christian Church, to compose a Difference, meets, and makes a Law of Abstinence from some things indifferent, and otherwise in themselves lawfull. This is plainly the Case, the Act of the Council and Decision of the Question, and yet these men alledge

the Act of the Council to prove the quite contrary. I am amazed to see how they change and clip the words, and pervert the sense of the Scripture they cite for their ends, and, I fear, against their Conscience. They say, the Apostles and Elders, *Act. 15. 28.* declare unto the Churches, that it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and them to lay upon them no greater Burthen than necessary things; Do the Apostles and Elders so declare? then we yield the Cause. Do they not? then ought they with Sin and Shame to yield it. They leave out the word (*These*) because they know it made against them; limiting the Church's Order to some few particular things, there presently named, *Things offered to Idols, Bloud, &c.*

Now whereas the Church makes a temporary Order for some particular things, and declares thus, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater Burthen necessary besides these things or (these) necessary things:* They leave out that word (*these*) of main importance, and hugely against them, and would make a standing Canon of their own,  
and

and father it upon the Apostles: That the Church ought to impose no other then necessary things, and yet too by their own confession, these things imposed were not simply in their own nature unchangeably necessary, but by accident, *pro tempore & loco*; and whereas they say, the Council imposed them, because antecedently necessary, The contrary is most true: These things were not antecedently necessary, but onely, as themselves say, *pro tempore*, for the time. There being at this time a difference risen about the *Jewish* Ceremonies, it was not necessary before the Council now so determined, That the converted Gentiles should *abstain from things offered to Idols, strangled, and Bloud*; that Law belonging onely to the *Jews*, never to the Gentiles. Behold how rarely well these men argue, To prove Church-Governours may not determine in things indifferent for Order and Unity, but all ought to be left to their own Liberty: They produce a Scripture which proves most plainly, That Church-Governours have, and may determine and restrain those under them from the use of things indifferent; All

the things touching which the Council they produce do give order being indifferent, except one, Fornication, which is of another nature, but with these prohibited, for that the Gentiles allowed themselves in it, and scarce looked on it as a Sin: This of their 20<sup>th</sup> and last Reason which I have thus at large considered, for that they lay so much weight upon it, though it prove, as the rest, light in the Balance; I shall, for a Conclusion of all, clearly evidence the Church's Power to prescribe external Rites and Ceremonies for Order and Decency, and our Obligation to conform unto them from the Judgment of two ancient Fathers, for whom I suppose our Brethren have some Reverence; and if those cannot move them, from the Judgment of a modern Father, for whom I am sure they have a high Veneration; 'Tis St. *Augustine's* Rule, *Prudenti Christiano eo modo agendum esse quo agit Ecclesia ad quam devenerit*, and his Mother having used, when she was in *Africk*, to fast on the Saturday, and coming to *Millan*, where that Fast was not observed, was doubtfull what to doe; hereupon her Son consulted Saint  
*Am-*



*Ambrose*, who thus answered, When I am here at *Millan*, I do not fast on the Saturday; when I am at *Rome*, I do fast on the Saturday; and unto what Church soever ye come, keep the custom of it, if you be willing neither to give nor take Scandal: From which Rule of *St. Augustine* and Advice of *St. Ambrose*, a Learned person maketh these Remarks: 1. That divers Countries, professing the same Religion, may have divers Ceremonies. 2. That in Churches Independent one is not bound of necessity to follow another. 3. That 'tis the Duty of every private person to conform himself to the laudable Customs and Constitutions of the Church wherein he liveth or wherever he cometh. You have heard the Judgment of these ancient Fathers. Will you hear your modern Father *Mr. Calvin*, and he delivers his Judgment so fully, and with so much strength and clearness asserts the Church's Power to ordain external Rites and Ceremonies, that *Master Hoaker* himself could not say more or better.

Whereas many unskilfull men, when they hear that Consciences are wicked-

ly bound, and God worshipped in vain, by the Traditions of men, do at once blot out altogether all Laws whereby the Order of the Church is set in frame. Therefore it is convenient also to meet with their Errour. Verily in this point it is easie to be deceived, because at first sight it doth not by and by appear what difference there is between the one sort and the other: But I will so plainly in few words set out the whole matter that the Likeness may deceive no man. First let us hold this, That if we see in every Society of men some Policy to be necessary which may serve to nourish common Peace, and to retain Concord, if we see that in the doing of things there is alwaies some orderly Form which is behoofefull for publick Honesty, and for very Humanity not to be refused, the same ought chiefly to be observed in Churches, which are both best maintained by a well framed disposition of all things, and without Agreement are no Churches at all. Therefore, if we will have the Safety of the Church well provided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which *St. Paul* commandeth, *That*  
all

*all things be done comely and according to order.* But forasmuch as there is so great diversity in the Manners of men, so great variety in Minds, so great disagreements in Judgments and Witts; neither is there any Policy stedfast enough, unless it be stablished by certain Laws; nor any orderly Usage can be observed, without a certain appointed Form: therefore we are so far off from condemning the Laws that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirm, that when these be taken away, Churches are dissolved from their Sinewes, and utterly deformed and scattered abroad; for this which *St. Paul* requireth, *That all things be done decently and in order*, cannot be had, unless the Order it self and Comeliness be established, with Observations adjoyned as with certain Bonds. But this onely thing is alway to be excepted in those Observations, That they be not either believed to be necessary to Salvation, and so bind Consciences with Religion, or be applied to the worshipping of God, and so Godliness be reposed in them. We have therefore a very good and most faithfull mark, which putteth

difference between those wicked Ordinances by which we have said, That the True Religion is darkned, and Consciences subverted, and the lawfull Observations of the Church, if we remember that the lawfull Observations tend alway to one of these two things or to both together, that in the Holy Assembly of the Faithfull all things be done comely, and with such dignity as besee-meth, and that the very common Fellowship of men should be kept in Order, as it were by certain Bonds of Humanity and Moderation; for when it is once understood that the Law is made for publick Honesty's sake, the Superstition is now taken away, into which they fall that measure the Worshipping of God by the Inventions of men. Again, when it is known, that it pertaineth to Common uses, then that false opinion of Bond and Necessity is overthrown, which did strike a great Terror into Consciences when Traditions were thought necessary to Salvation; for herein is nothing required, but that Charity should with common dutifull doing be nourished amongst us. But it is good yet to define more plainly what

is comprehended under that Comeliness which *Paul* commendeth, and also what under Order. The end of Comeliness is partly, that when such Ceremonies are used as may procure a Reverence to Holy things, we may by such Helps be stirred up to Godliness; partly also, that the Modesty and Gravity which ought to be seen in all Honest Doings may therein principally appear. In Order this is the first Point, That they which govern may know the Rule and Law to govern well, and the People which are governed may be accustomed to obeying of God, and to right Discipline: Then that the state of the Church being well framed, Peace and Quietness may be provided for. Verily because the Lord hath in his Holy Oracles both faithfully contained and clearly set forth both the whole Sum of true Righteousness, and all the parts of the Worshipping of his Divine Majesty, and whatsoever was necessary to Salvation; therefore in these things he is onely to be heard as our Schoolmaster. But because in outward Discipline and Ceremonies his Will was not to prescribe each thing particularly,  
what



what we ought to follow, because he foresaw this to hang upon the state of Times, and did not think one Form to be fit for all Ages, herein we must flee to those general Rules which he hath given, that thereby all those things should be tried which the necessity of the Church shall require to be commanded for Order and Comeliness; finally, forasmuch as he hath therefore taught nothing expressly, because these things are not necessary to Salvation, and according to the manners of every Nation and Age ought diversly to be applied to the edifying of the Church: Therefore as the Profit of the Church shall require, it shall be convenient as well to change and abrogate those that be used, as to institute new. I grant indeed, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to run to Innovation, but what may hurt or edifie, Charity shall best judge, which if we suffer to be the Governours, all shall be safe.

Now it is the Duty of Christian People to keep such things as have been ordained according to this Rule with a free Conscience, and without any Superstition, but yet with a godly and easie

easy readiness to obey, not to despise them, nor to pass them over with careless Negligence; so far is it off, that they ought by Pride and Obstinacy openly to break them. What manner of Liberty of Conscience, wilt thou say, may there be in so great observation and wariness? Yes, it shall stand excellently well; when we shall consider that they are not steadfast and perpetual stayed Laws whereunto we are bound, but outward Rudiments for the weakness of Men, which though we do not all need, yet we do all use them; because we are mutually bound to one another to nourish Charity among us. Thus Mr. *Calvin* delivers his Judgment directly contrary to yours, perfectly consentient to the Church of *England*, and we find his Practice according with his Judgment; he put the Yoke of Discipline upon the Neck of the Senate and People of *Geneva*, and bound them to it with an Oath; and he declares for a Form of Prayers and Ecclesiastical Rites, and greatly approves that it be fixed, from which it may not be lawfull for the Pastors to depart in their Function: you may now go and accuse  
Mr.

First and  
Second  
Book of  
Discipline.

Mr. *Calvin* ( with our Church ) as judging and acting contrary to *Romans* 14. and to the Decree of the 'Apostolical Council, laying both upon Pastors and People a great Burthen of things not necessary ; and if you please to take a view of the *Scotish* Discipline, you will find there also a huge and heavy Burthen, abundance of things which you dare not say are necessary.

And to come home.

The *Solemn League and Covenant*, imposed by the long Parliament upon the whole Kingdom, and taken I doubt not by your selves, is a most heavy Burthen of things, so far from necessary, that they are not lawfull, nay highly sinfull ; and if you have still the Confidence to say the matter of it was necessary, yet you cannot affirm it of the Ceremonies enjoined with strictness at the taking of it, which are more than all the Ceremonies by the Church enjoined to the People in the whole Liturgy : They are no less than Five. Those who took the Covenant were ordered, 1. to stand ; 2. uncovered ; 3. with the hand lifted up ; 4. the right hand ; 5. and that bared.

And

And may I here presume to ask you, Suppose a weak Brother, whose tender Conscience could not swallow these solemn Rites, should affirm 'twas sinfull in the Parliament to lay upon them the Burthen of these not necessary things, and that he could not take the Covenant, unless you would allow him his Christian Liberty to doe it without these superstitious Ceremonies; whether would you and the Parliament indulge him for his Tenderneſs, or reject and ſequeſter him (if well fleeced) for his Non-conformity? But whatever becomes of this Caſe, you have in a ſolemn part of God's Worſhip ( for ſo you judge the *Solemn League and Covenant* ) ſtrictly enjoyned ſeveral unneceſſary Rites and Ceremonies, and ſo you muſt neceſſarily condemn your ſelves, and renounce at leaſt the Ceremonies of your Covenant, or ceaſe for ever to declaim againſt the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*.

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